

J. H. Davis,
4 Crane Court, Fleet St.

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

AN image carved with marvellous cunning, tricked out in solemn vestments, a part woven by human fancy, a part stolen from the chest of truth—an image, we repeat, an outside semblance, a counterfeit of life, not God-created, but made by the hands of man, empty, without heart, destitute of any well-spring of vitality—has been placed by aristocratic legislation in the throne of Christianity. The living, simple, beauteous truth, the rightful queen to whom all spiritual homage of due belongs, too sincere, too earnest, too unbending for the purposes of men in power, was long since deposed, thrust out, compelled to wander in obscurity and to witness the fealty of her voluntary adherents treated as an offence against the good order of society. Great men—kings, nobles, bishops, stand round about the image their own sagacity has fashioned, bow to it and pay it court, proclaim it the only true church of Christ, pass laws, professedly to maintain its state, and share the proceeds among themselves. All men are bid to acknowledge it, in humble thankfulness that they are permitted to hold any conversation at all with her whose throne is usurped by this creature of the state. Meanwhile, these great ones, under the sanction and on the behalf of their church, perpetrate a thousand enormities, violate every maxim of religion, degrade, insult, harass, imprison—regard nor justice nor mercy in their pursuit of pelf, until half this nation, disgusted with the imposture and ignorant of the claims and worth of heavenly truth, declare that there is no such thing, that it is all a hollow pretence, and that Christianity itself is a mere scheme of priestcraft.

Christianity! What kind of Christianity is our state church upheld to subserve? An attention to rites for the performance of which fees may be exacted—heartless formality—a blind, unreasoning, ignorant, superstitious obedience to the priesthood—payment of tithes, and easter-offerings, and church-rates—these are the great objects of our establishment. The interest taken in it by our rulers is just an interest in property. What concern can the vast majority of them be supposed to feel for the spread of religion? The whole thing is a stupendous money-scheme, carried on under false pretences—a bundle of vested rights, stamped for the greater security with the sacred name of Christianity—an affair of livings, and benefices, and baronial bishoprics to the aggregate amount of 5,000,000*l.* a year.

To shatter this image, and give the dust of it to the four winds of heaven—to re-conduct Christianity to her throne—to vindicate her rights—to restore her legitimate influence—is the sacred mission of protestant dissenting ministers. They are appointed by Providence to this great work—their principles open up to them this glorious career—they are equal to the mighty undertaking—the time is come for them to decide and to act. With earnest longings of heart, with trembling solicitude largely intermingled with hope, we wait, the country waits, to hear their determination. We entreat them by all that is good and great to come forward. Let them but say, "the work shall be done," and the doom of the establishment is pronounced.

For they know not their own power. They seem scarcely to be sensible of the vast things they can accomplish. They have the hearts of millions in their keeping—they enjoy the confidence of the great body of virtuous intelligence in this country. In one year they might change the whole aspect of this momentous question. The train is laid—the match is put into their hands—let them dauntlessly apply it, and the flame of enthusiasm they will kindle will astound even themselves. Such an opportunity is now before them as never man had. Luther himself might have coveted their position. The resources of which they can avail themselves, the might they can wield, the object they are yet destined to effect, lay them under a tremendous weight of responsibility. They have only to snap the cords which a wealthy and a worldly few have bound around them, to rise up in their might and shake off all obstructions, and they will re-assure the vast body of dissenters, unite them in one firm, compact, irresistible phalanx, call up the spirit of earlier days, and lead on religious liberty to its ultimate triumph.

If there were one mode of appealing to them which we had reason to believe would be successful, that mode we would adopt. We have spoken roughly to them, not, however, in unkindness. The blow might be unwelcome—let them not regard it as the blow of an enemy. To see them manfully, and with religious determination, occupy the honourable post which Providence has as-

signed them, there is no sacrifice consistent with truth we would not gladly make. 'Tis no pleasure to us to wound—from our inmost souls we aver that we would much rather commend and cheer them forward. Our object is single. We hesitate not to stake everything upon it—character, station, existence itself. Our joy, our gratitude, our respect, our confidence would scarcely know a limit did we but hear them give the signal to march onward—march towards the actualisation of the voluntary principle.

A commencement must be made by some one. This is the time to make it. Ere the month has closed, and whilst leading ministers from the country are here, in this metropolis, the first step should be taken. To decide upon any plan of action now would be premature. It is unnecessary. Much and anxious deliberation must precede the final adoption of practical measures. Fifty, we might even say twenty men, and we could name them, have it in their power to make "a beginning of the end." Before they separate, let them but send forth to the world a solemn assurance that they will take the matter up—let them pledge themselves to the great principle, and to the sober consideration of the means hereafter to be adopted—let them give three months to deliberation, inquiry, discussion—and then let them submit their plan, and summon dissenters to energetic movement. Discord would cease—bickering dissensions would heal at once—apathy would be dispelled—our reproach would be wiped away—the day of our deliverance would be at hand.

CHURCH RATES—THE CABINET.

We learn from the court circular that several leading dissenting ministers, metropolitan and provincial, with Mr. Easthope, M.P., and Mr. Hume, M.P., have had interviews with the Premier and with the Colonial Secretary, on the subject of church-rates. The interview, we are informed, was secured in both cases by the influence of Messrs. Easthope and Hume, and was sought, in order to lay before ministers an explicit representation of the anxiety felt by dissenters, for the settlement of this question, and of their discontent with the present administration in consequence of their treatment of it—discontent which, whenever they appeal to the country, will show itself at the hustings inconveniently, it may be, to the party now in power. We augur good from this effort. It is timely—it smacks of honest determination. The dissenters in the estimation of the present government, we are well aware, are as supple, as men wishing to use them can desire. They can always be pacified whatever may be amiss. Now we take leave to warn these noble lords that patience has its limits. If Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell have forgotten that they are in the hands of dissenters, they will be most disagreeably reminded of it at the next election, unless they previously pledge themselves to abolish this ecclesiastical nuisance. Disgusted with their shuffling policy in regard to this matter, numbers who would scorn to vote for toryism, will refuse to vote for a whig. A few seats lost in consequence of the prevailing feeling of distrust will perhaps awaken ministers to a consciousness of their error. Their position is not so secure as to enable them to throw away dissenting support. They have no surplussage of influence to lose.

MR. EASTHOPE'S BILL.—LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

In the postscript of our last number we gave the parliamentary talk on Mr. Easthope's bill. The conduct of Lord John Russell was, as usual, indicative of his disrelish for the whole subject. We are authorized to state that he had given the member for Leicester, an unequivocal, because written assurance, that he would not oppose him in the introduction of his measure to the house. When Mr. Easthope, desirous in a full house of testing the professions of liberal men, declared upon an amendment being moved by Dr. Nichols, that he would divide the house, suddenly this noble lord, seeing how inconvenient the test would prove to several of his adherents, especially on the eve of an election, flew from his promise, and threatened that if Mr. Easthope should persist in dividing the house, he would vote against him.

We call upon the dissenters of Stroud, to mark that. Lord John Russell has done more to insult, to deceive, to overreach dissenters, than any one member of the present cabinet. He holds them in contempt. His professions of friendliness have never been fulfilled. He has displayed a readiness, that marks the real bias of the man, an eager readiness to yield to all the petty encroachments which the church has of late made upon religious liberty. He has always stood in the way of the church-rate question, since he adopted the



opinion that he could do without dissenters. The electors at Stroud will soon have an opportunity of showing their sense of the Colonial Secretary's conduct. If they prefer being kicked, let them return Lord John once more, as their representative. But if, as we believe, there is a manliness of spirit in that borough, a love of religious freedom, a hatred of shuffling and deceit, let them turn him out without hesitation. The dissenter who votes for Lord John Russell—let him never pretend to desire the abolition of church-rates. To that cause, at all events, he is a traitor. At Stroud, as elsewhere, abolition of church-rates must be made a hustings question. We have been played with far too long. At length let our power be felt as electors. We believe dissenters are not conscious of their strength in this capacity. We shall return to this subject.

Mr. William Baines remains a prisoner in the county gaol at Leicester, where he has been confined upwards of TWENTY-SIX WEEKS, for declining to pay at the bidding of the Archbishop of Canterbury's court, the sum of 2*l.* 6*s.* church-rates, and 125*l.* 3*s.* costs.

We learn from the *Court Circular* that Mr. Easthope, M.P., Mr. Hume, M.P., with a deputation, consisting of the Rev. Dr. Leifchild, Rev. Dr. Vaughan, Rev. J. P. Mursell, Dr. T. Price, W. Greig, R. Fletcher, Rev. J. Burnett, Rev. T. Binney, and the Rev. Dr. Fletcher, had an interview with Viscount Melbourne on Monday, in Downing-street, on the subject of church-rates.

In the course of last week the following seizures for church-rates were made, by Charles Stevens, the parish constable, and Messrs. Clarke and Pease, churchwardens, at Pontefract:—from Mr. John Barker, maltster, five bushels of malt; from Mr. M'Douall, tea-dealer, 10*lbs.* of coffee-beans; from Mr. Samuel Knight, grocer, a quantity of sugar; and from Mr. T. Lee Taylor, silversmith, a parasol and a gold brooch. On Saturday last the coffee and the malt were exposed for sale in the public market-place, and sold to the highest bidder.

We understand that several citations from the ecclesiastical court have been served upon parishioners at Hackney who have disputed the validity of the church-rate. Upwards of 500 defaulters in this parish will, it is supposed, have their goods seized in the course of a few days.

Several inhabitants of Pudsey were summoned on Wednesday last for non-payment of church-rates. Mr. Richardson, of Leeds, appeared for them, and gave notice to the magistrates that they objected to the validity of the rate, and that they had a *bona fide* intention of disputing it. Notwithstanding this, the magistrates proceeded to issue orders for payment; which Mr. Richardson stated his determination to resist to the utmost, not from any disrespect to the magistrates, but from the conviction that they had for the present no jurisdiction in the matter; and he should bring an action against any party who attempted to enforce the rate.

At Abergavenny, on Saturday the 8th inst., a meeting of the rate-payers was held at the vestry-room, for the purpose of granting a church-rate. The churchwardens moved for a rate of 4*d.* in the pound, to pay the instalment and interest due to the Exchequer Loan Office, and for the necessary expenses of the church. An amendment was moved: a rate of 3*d.* in the pound be granted to the churchwardens for the purpose of paying the instalment and interest now due to the Exchequer, and not for the other purposes specified. On a show of hands, the majority were for a rate of 4*d.*, and a poll was demanded for the amendment. The chairman, however, subsequently refused to record any votes except for rate or no rate, and the 3*d.* rate party therefore abstained from voting, and put in a protest against the proceedings.

On the 13th May, a public meeting was called by the churchwardens, to be held in the vestry-room at the church, for making a church-rate for the parish of Alfriston, Sussex. Mr. Charles Brooker was called on to preside, and a resolution passed to postpone the making of the rate for six months. Neither the vicar or churchwardens attended the meeting, nor was any document placed before it. Thus the triumph of the opponents of the rate was complete.

On Friday week the parishioners of Headcorn assembled in vestry for the purpose of making a compulsory church-rate (in obedience to a monition issued from the Arches Court). The Rev. C. Fielding took the chair. Having read a few portions of the decision on the Braintree case, the rev. gentleman called upon the churchwarden to read the monition. This was done by Mr. Beale, after which a rate of 9*d.* in the pound was proposed by Mr. G. Standen, and seconded by Mr. Thomas Cooke, churchwardens. Mr. S. Harman said that having had a very eminent counsel's opinion, the dissenters were determined to be guided by it, and therefore he would propose an amendment, "That instead of a compulsory rate for the repairs of the parish church, and the support of divine worship therein, the churchwardens be requested to receive voluntary contributions for such purposes." This amendment was duly seconded by Mr. William Love, and having been put to the meeting, was carried by a majority of 19, there being for the amendment, 33; against it, 14; after which, to the great surprise of all, the original motion for the rate was put to the meeting, when there appeared for the rate 14; against the rate, 33, being a majority of 19 against it. The rev. chairman then said that as he considered the amendment tantamount to a refusal of the rate, he would call upon the churchwardens to make a rate of ninepence in the pound, upon their own authority, with the assistance of those gentlemen who had favoured them with their votes, which was done, and the meeting separated.—*Maidstone Gazette*.

Preparations are making amongst the dissenters of St. George's, St. Mary's, St. Michael's, and many other parishes of this city, to resist the proceedings of the archdeacon by all lawful means. We may safely assert that no church-rates will hereafter be made in these and many other parishes of this city. To the end that they may be successfully resisted, an anti-church-rate association has been formed, and every possible resistance will be made to these demands. For this the church people have to thank themselves, the dissenters having offered to enter into a voluntary subscription for the expenses of the church services, only to be insulted by the church people, who will not give way one iota while they have the law on their side.—*Norwich Mercury*.

On Thursday last, a meeting of the parishioners of Braintree was held in vestry for the purpose of making a church-rate. The Rev. B. Scale, the vicar, having taken the chair, Mr. Veley, churchwarden, stated that the amount necessary to repair the church was 713*l.*, which would require a 2*s.* rate, but a rate of less amount would be accepted. Mr. G. Nottidge proposed that a rate of 1*s.* in the pound be made, which was seconded by Mr. R. Lacey. Mr. Courtauld then rose to move an amendment that such rate be not granted, and said:—It appeared to him that it had no just foundation on any principle whatever; that it was really intended by this formal proceeding to raise the question as to whether by some legal jugglery a minority may be made a majority. It was now about five years since what are called the rights of the church, and the obligations on parishioners in reference to church-rates, had been made the subject of discussion and legal trial in the parish of Braintree. About the year 1836, the churchwardens applied for a rate, and against that rate there was present a majority, upon which the churchwardens, with a minority of the parishioners, proceeded then and there to make a rate. That rate was allowed by the ordinary, and the collection was commenced; but the churchwardens were presently advised it was entirely illegal, and he believed the part collected was returned, and the rate was abandoned. An attempt was then made to establish the arbitrary power of the churchwardens *ex officio* to levy a rate entirely irrespective of, and in opposition to, the will of the parishioners at large. That ground had been tried. It was tried first in the Consistory Court of the diocese of London, and in that a decision was given by Dr. Lushington nominally in favour of the rate, but virtually he expressed his opinion that it was invalid, and would not be sustained in the higher ecclesiastical court, though he felt himself bound by a precedent from the Court of Arches, his superior jurisdiction. Upon that the opposers of the rate applied to a court of common law, the Court of Queen's Bench; and the result of that proceeding, after elaborate argument, was an equally elaborate judgment of Lord Denman, that a prohibition must go to stay any further proceedings on the decree that had been obtained in the ecclesiastical court. He determined that the decision of Dr. Lushington, recognized as it was, as not given on the merits, was invalid, that it ought not to have been given, and could not be sustained, and that no further proceedings should be taken in execution of it. The judgment of Lord Denman was considered throughout the country to be so explicit, and so to determine every point of the proceedings, that it was with the utmost astonishment they heard that an appeal had been lodged in the Exchequer Chamber to review the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench. In the Exchequer Chamber the subject was re-stated and re-argued, and the result was the judgment of Chief Justice Tindal, confirming the judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench on the two points raised—first, that a rate made by the churchwardens in opposition to the declared sense of the majority was invalid, a church-rate only in name; and secondly, that it was competent for a court of common law to interfere and prohibit the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court, which might have for their object the enforcement of such an illegal rate. Had the decision of the Exchequer Chamber ended there, there probably would have been an end to church-rate litigation in Braintree. That, however, unfortunately for the peace of the parish, was not the case; and Chief Justice Tindal thought it consistent with his duty to wander somewhat from the point raised and submitted for adjudication; and to imply that which had never been submitted to him, that by certain other means the churchwardens might succeed in establishing a rate though opposed by a majority, however large. He suggested means, and it appeared that a course was so fairly opened to the consideration of the churchwardens, that he was not surprised, after the judgment of Chief Justice Tindal, they should think it behoved them to try whether there was any validity or sound foundation for the proceedings which they contemplated. Mr. E. Craig seconded the amendment, which was put and carried by a large majority. Mr. Veley said, he must now move that a rate of 2*s.* in the pound be made for the purpose before stated. Mr. Lacey seconded it. Mr. Courtauld said, his objections to this were twice as strong as to the other [laughter]. He moved that it be not granted. Mr. Clayden seconded the amendment, which was put and carried. We understand this meeting is merely a preliminary step to the trial of the question; a monition will now be applied for, and another meeting will probably be called in the course of five or six weeks, when, if the rate be again refused, it will be made by the minority.

A public meeting was held at the Town-hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Monday week, to petition against church-rates, ecclesiastical courts, and the appointment of stipendiary chaplains to workhouses. The Mayor was in the chair. The chartists moved and carried an adjournment till the evening on the ground that the working classes were virtually excluded from midday meetings. The Mayor refused to preside, or allow the use of the hall for an evening meeting; and it was therefore determined to hold the meeting on Wednesday evening, in the Nelson-street Lecture room. This meeting was well attended, W. L. Harle, Esq., was called to the chair, and a petition was adopted. The chartists attempted to attach a clause to the petition, in favor of the charter but did not succeed, the motion being negatived by a majority of ten.

A meeting to lay a church-rate was held on Friday week, at St. Lawrence, Ipswich. A rate of 6*d.* was proposed, which was met by an amendment, that there be no rate. The amendment was carried by a majority of 9. A poll was demanded, which was protested against by the anti-rate party, upon the authority of Lord Denman and other eminent lawyers, that those parishioners only who were present at a parish meeting could vote. The chairman refused to put this motion, and commenced taking the poll. The numbers were, for the rate 56, against it 21. Many who protested against the illegality of the poll did not vote.

Another church-rate contest may be looked for at Horncastle, in which the principles of the opponents of this most iniquitous impost will be put to a severe test—a celebrated tee-total Earl having, we learn, given peremptory orders to his tenantry, and others over whom he has influence, to attend any vestry-meeting that may be called to enforce a rate, to vote for it, and moreover to pay it afterwards!—*Stamford Mercury*.

The following handbill is in circulation in Macclesfield:—"Warrants of distress having been issued, at the instigation and complaint of the senior chapel-warden of Macclesfield, and distrains having been made, this seems a suitable time for publishing some of the reasons which have induced the parties thus to suffer the despoiling of their goods, as a testimony against all compulsory payments for religious purposes. Church-rates are made for repairing and maintaining places of worship wherein religious ceremonies are performed, from which, as protestants, we conscientiously dissent; and which we believe to be entirely opposed to the simplicity of the Christian dispensation. These rates were originally imposed in times of great corruption in the Christian church. They had no existence in the pure and early ages of Christianity; but through the prevailing ignorance of the nation, were subsequently allowed to become enforced by legal authority. The laws by which these exactions are made are contrary to the divine law, and in direct opposition to the commandment—'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.' The following goods have been seized, and will be sold by public auction, next market day, at noon, in front of the Town-hall:—From Samuel Jesper, two pieces of drab moleskin, value 8*l.* 10*s.*, for rates amounting to 3*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* From John Metcalfe, five lumps of sugar, value 5*l.* 14*s.*, for rates amounting to 2*l.* 2*s.* From Richard Wilson, 45*lbs.* of lump, and 84*lbs.* of raw sugar, value 4*l.* 15*s.*, for rates amounting to 1*l.* 15*s.*"

The following correspondence has passed between the Rev. J. Bakewell, of Chester, and Sir Stephen Glynn, M.P. for Flintshire, brother-in-law to Mr. Gladstone, the author of the notorious work on church establishments:—

Lower Bridge Street, Chester, May 6th, 1841.

Honoured Sir,—I am a minister in a religious community, of which a small society exists in the village of Broughton. Both the society and congregation consist of a few poor people, who have met for social worship in a house, of which you, Sir Stephen, are the owner. Not many days since, an agent of yours informed the occupants of this house, that no more religious services must be held there, and they have, in consequence, been discontinued. From the representations that have been given to me of the excellence of your private character I must own, that I was both grieved and surprised that such a prohibition should have been imposed by your sanction and authority.

May I be permitted, most respectfully and humbly, to solicit your serious and candid re-consideration of this matter. The forbidden services were not held during church hours, and therefore could not directly hinder the inhabitants from attending the church service.

The object of our labours, Sir Stephen, is to render the people sober, industrious, upright, and peaceable—in short, we teach them to be lovers of God, and lovers of their fellow-men. And if it be affirmed that the instructions of the church are amply sufficient for these purposes, without the interference of dissenters, I may, I hope, be permitted to reply that the church has so many advantages over us, that she is surely able to prove her sufficiency, without resorting to compulsion. And if those connected with us in Broughton are ~~were~~ over to the church by the purer doctrines which may be taught, and by the more zealous efforts which may be employed, the mortification of defeat will be alleviated by the conviction, that those who may voluntarily leave us will nevertheless continue devoted to their God, and steadfast in the pursuit of heaven.

Be assured, Sir Stephen, that the interests of the church will not be promoted by such measures as have been adopted at Broughton; and I do most earnestly implore that you will, in the spirit of Christian kindness and forbearance, allow these poor people to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, and the people thus befriended will be the protectors of your property, and, if needful, the willing defenders of your person.

I have the honour to remain, Sir Stephen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN BAKEWELL.

To Sir Stephen Glynn.

London, May 8th, 1841.

SIR.—My agent acted under my authority in ordering any tenant at Broughton to discontinue the assemblages lately held in his house for sectarian purposes.

I do not mean to impugn the motives which may have actuated any of the parties in resorting to unauthorized religious services; probably their intentions were good, but it is also probable that those poor persons were from ignorance unaware that they were thus incurring the guilt of schism, which is undoubtedly the case with those separating themselves from the communion of the Church, more especially when there is a church close at hand with free access to its services, which ought to be looked upon as an inestimable privilege.

The Church being the divinely appointed channel of grace, it would ill become me as a consistent churchman to sanction the existence of sectarian assemblages upon my property, and accordingly I am resolved always to act, not as you seem to imagine, contrary to "the spirit of christian kindness and forbearance," but in the conviction that by thus inculcating the duty of allegiance to the church, I am also acting most kindly towards those who appear to be either ignorant or negligent of that duty.

I am, sir, faithfully yours,

STEPHEN GLYNN.

Rev. John Bakewell,
Lower Bridge-street, Chester.

In a communication from a correspondent the following fact is detailed, and the names of the party given:—"At a place in the West Riding of the county of York, not 100 miles from Skipton or Gisburn either, resides an evangelist called a curate, who does the duty for which Mr. H. W. is paid. This curate is notorious for profane swearing and drunkenness. It is not long ago, when on his return from a neighbouring town, after indulging his taste for the only spiritual comfort he enjoys, and it is to be feared with little of the *lymphæ perniciæ vini* in his cup to temper it; he took up his lodgings in a plantation, and would have remained all night, *sub Jove frigido*, had not some kind farmer conducted him home. The family in which he resides have never heard him offer up one prayer in the family, nor read one line of the scriptures, and this though he has lived there for many weeks. I could other tales unfold; but though I am sure of their truth, they are for politeness sake omitted. I may, however, state that the reproach of Chremes to his son, in the *Heautontimoroumenos* of Terence, *in vino quam immodestus fuisti*, might well have been given to this young clerk by his servant on at least one occasion. If drunkenness and profanity, neglect of private and family prayer, are requisites for a man of God, I leave those dissenting ministers to judge who are not politicians. Can a system which allows such a public nuisance be scriptural?"

A meeting of the friends of the Scottish church was held on Monday, at Willis's Rooms, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from Scotland to explain the intentions of the church with regard to the Duke of Argyle's bill for settling the nonintrusion question. The Earl of Mountcashel took the chair. Dr. M'Kellar, the Moderator of the General Assembly, addressed the meeting; and the Rev. Mr. Candlish, of Edinburgh, explained what nonintrusion was, and the difference between the Earl of Aberdeen's proposed bill and that of the Duke of Argyle. The Earl recognized the right of every member to state objections to a minister presented to any parish, with power to substantiate those objections before the church courts, who might refuse to admit the presentee to his living. The Duke's bill prevented the ordination of a presentee who proved *unacceptable* to the people; and that bill the church had determined to support.

BIBLE MONOPOLY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Bungay, 14th May, 1841.

SIR—In my last letter, inserted in the Nonconformist of the 5th instant, reference is made to the report of the Scottish Bible Board, containing the opinion of the Lord Advocate, and the Solicitor-General of Scotland, with that of the Moderator, and other members of the General Assembly, proving that the BIBLE MONOPOLY, by keeping up prices, operated to prevent thousands of families, year after year, from possessing the word of God.

The same high authorities add their testimony to the value of competition, as proved in Scotland immediately after the abolition of the monopoly there, by stating, that "editions published in England have been introduced into Scotland with great benefit in every respect," producing reductions in price beyond the expectations of the most sanguine friends of open trade. Which reductions, through the efforts of Dr. Thomson to make them known, produced some excitement in England, when the result was, that the monopolists wisely determined to reduce their prices, until they shall be able again to raise them. These things borne in mind, I proceed to the events which effected the downfall of the Scotch monopoly. The excitement incident to the decision of the House of Lords having subsided into calm indignation, a circumstance occurred in 1830, which brought the subject more distinctly to the public view, and led to a more general understanding of the evils of this monopoly, than any event of former times.

In January, 1830, Mr. Hume, with his usual earnestness in promoting the public welfare, by wholesome and timely reforms, denounced the king's printer, who then held a seat in the House of Commons, as one always ready to vote for the evils by which the people were oppressed. The imputation was by the king's printer injudiciously rebutted, with some warmth of expression and bitterness of feeling, and it was obvious that monopoly had been touched in a tender part. After reading the report of the debate, I offered to Mr. Hume to prepare a petition against the existence of the monopoly; and of this he gladly availed himself as a means to a committee of the House, in order to investigate the nature of the patent, the powers it conferred, and the prices which were charged under it.

Amongst other things set forth as grievances occasioned by the existence of the patent, were the following—"That acts of parliament might and ought to be supplied to the public at prices 33 per cent., and bibles, testaments, and prayer-books, at 25 per cent. lower than the prices which are charged by the patentees."

The committee being appointed, I stated in evidence before it, that in my petition I had asserted far less than could be proved, and was quite aware an impartial investigation would show the necessity for a much greater reduction, making every calculation on the highest rate of journeymen's wages paid by printers in London.

The king's printers of Scotland and England were the first witnesses examined—gentlemen in every other relation of life than as monopolists, respectable, and honourable beyond impeachment;—but the evidence they severally gave, brought out the mind and character of monopolists in perfect illustration, one asserting he had a right to charge any price he pleased for bibles,—the other insisting that the price he then obtained for acts of parliament, which was *double what he soon after gladly consented to take*, did not pay the expense of keeping stock; adding, that if the privilege of exclusive printing were taken away, and BIBLES were sold by the trade at large, that double the price he then received would not pay.

The evidence given by these gentlemen so far confounded the members of the committee, and their profits, notwithstanding all obstacles placed in the way of accurate investigation, were obviously so enormous, that it was determined to call other witnesses; and the result was, that in 1833 the price of all public printing, EXCEPTING BIBLES, was ordered by the lords of the treasury to be greatly reduced, when the patentees were compelled to charge less than half their former prices, to give up more than half the profits of their privilege in printing acts of parliament, statutes, &c.; but *were allowed to retain as an offset, the right to charge whatever they pleased for the word of God!*

In this state the matter remained in 1837, when my friend Dr. Thomson came to the rescue of his countrymen from the grasp of monopoly; but before I proceed to the immediate steps by which the Scotch monopoly was abolished, I request the public will compare the former denunciations of Dr. Campbell against the monopoly, with his recent bland recommendations of the monopolist, as one who "has wisely and nobly merged his trade in the nation," one who "has such multifarious facilities to keep the market as much as possible to himself," that the Doctor determines his schools shall use only the volumes printed by the monopolist himself; while he desires that the children of England may be instructed to cry "long life and good health to the monopolist;" who is *able*, he affirms, to sell the scriptures ten per cent. cheaper than any free trader!

I subjoin a few passages from Adam Smith, and invite your readers to compare his views on the subject of monopoly, with Dr. Campbell's last opinions on the same subject.

"A monopoly granted to an individual has the same effect as a secret in trade. The monopolists keep the market understocked, never supply the effectual demand, sell their commodities much above the natural price, and raise their profits greatly above their natural rate. The price of monopoly is upon every occasion the highest that can be got. The natural price, or the price of free competition, on the contrary, is the lowest which can be taken, not upon every occasion indeed, but for any considerable time together.

"The one is, upon every occasion, the highest which can be squeezed out of the buyers, or which it is supposed they will consent to give, the other is the lowest which the sellers can commonly afford.

"Monopoly is a great enemy to good management, which can never be universally established, but in consequence of that free and universal competition which forces everybody to have recourse to it, for the sake of self-defence. By monopoly all the subjects of the state are taxed very absurdly, in two different ways; first, by the high price of goods, which, in the case of free trade, they could buy much cheaper; and, secondly, by their total exclusion from a branch of business which it might be both convenient and

profitable for them to carry on. The cruelest of our revenue laws are mild and gentle in comparison of some of our absurd and oppressive monopolies, which, like the laws of Draco, may be said to be all written in blood; and it may be affirmed, in the language of Dr. Thomson, "of all monopolies, a monopoly in the word of God is the most outrageous."

This I believe to be the true character of monopoly, and I am not, therefore, deterred from acting on such opinions by Dr. Campbell's dissuasion, or his recent assurance to me, that nothing but discomfiture will be the result of any attempt at abolition, adding, that it were as rational to attempt the removal of Windsor Castle to Primrose Hill as to seek the abolition of the monopoly. He is now satisfied with the expedient of taking temporary reduction, leaving the principle untouched, and this after his brilliant denunciation of monopoly and monopolists, in October last, at Liverpool. I, on the contrary, am of opinion (using the words of Dr. Campbell), "that the patentee's protection is a snare for his printer's vigilance,—that his position creates a war between public and private interest,—a war in which, over all countries, and through all time, the individual has triumphed over the multitude"—and I put it to the conscience of every Christian man in the country, whether he does not see it to be his duty to arise and assist to break the fetters of monopoly, by seeking the abolition of the patent.

I will trespass no further on your space now, but conclude, for the present, with a remark from the *Nonconformist* of the 5th instant,—“If, with monopolists' habits, the Queen's printer is getting, even from present prices, such a remuneration as to constitute sufficient inducement to brave all but universal execration, how many thousands of families must be deprived year after year of the 'Bread of Life.'”

Sir, obediently yours,
JOHN CHILDS.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Church Rates, abolition of, 287.—From Ilfracombe, Halsted, Quorndon, Wavenhoe, East Bergholt, Burnham (Essex), Welford, Fordingbridge, Stourbridge (two petitions), Kelvedon, Wilton, Great Wigston, Wilbarston and Ashley, Stockwell Head in Hinckley, Wirksworth, Stambourne, Debenham, Chard, Blackburn (two petitions), Badingham, Melton Mowbray, Fulbourn, Earl Shilton, Woodbridge, Theddington, Bosworth, Tockholes, Stokesley in Cleveland (two petitions), Edinburgh, Swansea, Worsley, Measham and Netherseal, Hesketh Lane, Llanfyllin, Downton, Morecott, Thaxted, Thurston, Dover, Knowl Green, Barrowden, Hayes, Blacksnape, Billesdon, North Luffham, Leith, Naseby, Clipstone, Lymington, Blaen-y-waen, Cripplestile, Burton-upon-Trent, Langham, Chipping, Taunton, Edgeworth Moor, Upavon, Chipping Norton, Maiden Bradley, Frome (three petitions), Diss, Loughton, St. Mary Somerset and St. Mary Mounthaw, London, Southminster, Hackney, Holt, Great Dugmow, Glandwr, Market Harborough (two petitions), Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the three denominations in London and its vicinity, Colchester, Loughborough (two petitions), Swavesey, Fenstanton (two petitions), Walsley, Nymet Rowland, Ludgershall, St. Colum, Harborough, Foxton, Keppel Street, Russell Square, London, Newick, Over, Woodhouse, Bures, Islington Green, Houghton-on-the-Hill, Astwood, Thames Ditton, Chelmsford, Little Baddow, Allington, Melbourne (Derby), Kibworth Harcourt, Forest Row, East Dereham, Sherborne, Handsworth, Malton, County of Leicester, Litcham, Wendling, Staines, Reading (four petitions), Southmolton, Riddings, Bridlington, Llanwenarth, Dittisham, &c., Newcastle-upon-Tyne (four petitions), Portsmouth (Chairman of a meeting), Newport (Isle of Wight), Portsea, Dartmouth, Leighton Buzzard, New Alresford, Devonport, Stansted Mountfitchet, Cambridge, Rochester, Chorley, Royston, Cottenham, Bath (eight petitions), Kentish Town, Stansfield, Abergavenny, Swansea (seven petitions), Leeds (six petitions), Armley, Kirkstall, Bristol (fourteen petitions), Camberwell, Holbeck (two petitions), Berkeley, Swanwick, Felsted, Trowbridge, Parsonage Lane (Somerset), Bradford (Wilts), Moukton Coombe, Dunkerton, Norton St. Philip's, Chippenham, Colerne, Holt near Trowbridge, Corsham (Wilts), Sheffield (ten petitions), Monkwearmouth, Peckham (Surrey), Cosely, Bethnal Green (two petitions), Brick Lane (Old Street, Middlesex), Grafton Street (Middlesex), Old Gravel Lane (Middlesex), Shadwell, Clerkenwell, Borough Road (Surrey), New Court (Carey Street, Middlesex), Bermondsey, Cleckheaton, Deptford, Sunderland, South Shields, King's Weigh House (London), Gloucester, Cokermonth, Wisbech (two petitions), Horsley, Ingham, Plymouth, Gorseley, Melksham, Thetford, Penzance, Toxteth, Lancaster, Chichester, Jewin Street (Middlesex), Cranfield, Turvey, Pottton, Biggleswade, Harrold, Maulden, Charlton, Macclesfield, Sharnbrook, Wootton, Ridgmont, Sandy, Blunham, Bedford, Bedford, Keysoe, Headcorn, Sutton Valence, Oxcombe, Warwick, Birmingham, Portsea, Shacklewell, St. Neot's (two petitions), Hail Weston, Rugby, Cheshunt, Uppingham, Plymouth, Carmarthen, Ramsgate, King's Norton, Islington (Lancaster), Finchley, Reading (two petitions), Swansea (two petitions), Darlington, Melbourne, Portobello, Bradford (York), Birmingham (two petitions), Llandelofawr, Chatham, Andover, Kiltedden, Clidey, Barnard Castle, and East Cowes,

- against abolition, 8.
- Church Extension, for, 111; against further grant, 1.
- Church Patronage (Scotland), abolition of, 57.
- Abolition of Ecclesiastical Courts and release of Mr. William Baines, 5.
- Substitution of Affirmations for Oaths, 5.
- Lord's day, better observance of, 9.
- Idolatry in India, suppression of, 2.
- Maynooth College, against further grant, 8.
- Suppressed Sees in Ireland, restoration of, 2.
- Corn Laws' repeal of, 1111.
- for proposed measure, 5; against, 37.
- against repeal of, 250.
- and Import duties, for repeal and reduction, 21.
- Import Duties, revision of, 68.
- for proposed measure, 482; against, 1.
- Sugar Duties, for proposed measure, 5; against, 3.
- Timber Duties, for proposed measure, 2; against, 7.
- Poor Law Amendment Bill, against, 1; for alteration, 18; for, 2.
- Medical Profession (No. 1) Bill, against, 1.
- (No. 2) — for, 2; against, 1.
- Roman Catholic Relief Act, repeal of, 2.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

MOTIONS.

1. Church Rates—Motion made, and question put, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to abolish Church Rates, and make other provisions for maintenance of churches and chapels in England and Wales."—(Mr. Easthope.) Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words "the Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate upon the amendment proposed to be made to the question (7th May), 'That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair,' be now read," instead thereof. Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question." Amendment and motion, by leave, withdrawn.
2. Earl of Cardigan—Motion made, and question put, "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the Right honourable the Earl of Cardigan, during his command of the Eleventh Hussars, with the view of ascertaining how far such conduct has rendered him unfit to remain in Her Majesty's service."—(Mr. Muntz.) The House divided; ayes 58, noes 135.

BILLS PRESENTED, AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Victoria Park Bill.
2. Municipal Corporations Bill, "to render certain municipal corporations rateable to the relief of the poor in certain cases."
3. Felony Explanation Bill.
4. Entails (Scotland) Bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Vaccination Bill.
2. Victoria Park Bill.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME, AND PASSED.

1. Exchequer Bills (£11,000,000) Bill.
2. Excise Collection and Management Bill.

DEBATES.

Tuesday, May 11.

COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL REFORM.—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Mr. MACAULAY, felt himself called upon to speak, in consequence of an intimation thrown out on the preceding night by Mr. Gladstone, that to support the introduction of slave grown sugar was a striking anomaly in the son of Mr. Wilberforce's zealous ally, Zachary Macaulay. He observed that those who now impugned the government measure, laid down no definite principle which would prevent the next government from making the same proposal. What principle was it which allowed a man to wear slave grown cotton on his feet, but forbade him to put slave grown sugar into his mouth? It was our duty to suppress slavery in our own dominions, but we had no right to interfere with the internal slavery of other states. Our first business was with the happiness of the people intrusted to our own government; and that happiness would be destroyed if the exclusion of slave grown produce were applied to the article of cotton, the great staple of our manufacturing towns. The persons who now professed so much anxiety for the welfare of the slaves were those who in former years had struggled the hardest against their improvement. He denied that this budget had been brought forward as a mere forlorn hope. He had fully expected its success when it was opened by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the good seed now sown would not be thrown away. He might not sit where he now sat to reap the fruits; but it would not be the first time that his party had consented to leave the harvest with those who had not borne the heat and burden of the day.

Sir GEORGE CLERK reminded the house, that only last year, upon Mr. Ewart's motion for this very measure, the vote of Mr. Macaulay had been given against it. The principles of free trade were incapable of being pushed to their extreme in a country like this, where the artificial and complicated state of things produced by our national debt made it impracticable for us to maintain our native industry without some protections against the competition of producers who laboured under no such disadvantages. The amount of those protections might be reasonably made a subject of dispute; but the principle was fit to be maintained, for the benefit not merely of the persons protected, but of the entire state. The now coming supplies of our own colonial sugar were estimated as very considerable. Whatever should be re-exported, being a surplus beyond the British consumption, would go into the continental markets, and compete with slave grown sugars; and the price of that surplus, reduced on the continent by that competition, would regulate the price of all the sugar sold in England, and thus ensure a low price of sugar in this country, without any of that dereliction of principle which marked the measure of the government. He had no doubt the success of the great experiment of free labour would be such as to render permanent this augmented supply of sugar from our own colonies; so that the introduction of foreign sugar would not be necessary for the raising of a revenue. The government talked of a reduction of 1s. 6d. per cwt. Now, that would be some boon to the grocers, who had petitioned for it, but it would afford no relief to the poor purchaser, for it would not reduce the price one farthing in the pound. Nor was the reduction of duty any certain pledge for such an increase of consumption as would compensate the loss of revenue from that reduction. In illustration of that remark, he referred to the great falling off in the revenue of the post-office, and censured the absurdity of making such an experiment in the face of a great deficiency of revenue. The conservatives had been charged with having contributed to that deficiency, by sanctioning the expenditure of government. He denied that responsibility: the conservatives, no doubt, had voted the necessary means of national defence; but what had they to do with the policy by which that defence was rendered necessary,—for instance, with the policy of ministers on the subject of China? Those ministers, in their present difficulties, had resorted to their usual system—the extension of fresh boons to their radical allies. They had at first led an attack against the Irish church, which attack they had as discreditably abandoned. They then, in a further strait, made the ballot an open question: and now they come forward with a new set of concessions on the subject of commerce, still to buy the radical votes to their side.

Mr. WARD said the opposition had taken their ground skilfully, for sugar was a topic under which they could combine higher and holier sympathies than could be collected by timber or corn: the government however, was not proposing to discontinue the protection of colonial sugar; a protecting duty of 50 per cent. was still to be left upon that sugar—a duty larger than the warmest advocate of the landed interests would have ventured to ask on behalf of corn. He was glad of the prosperity which the negroes were attaining: but he could not consent to tax the English poor a penny a pound on their sugar that the West India negroes might keep gigs and drink champagne. Gentlemen threatened a union among the sugar, corn, and timber interests, who would reject all compromise; but how would this consist with the liberal principles on the subject of trade attributed to the conservative leader by the friends who knew him best? He then entered into the general question of the corn-laws, comparing the fixed duty with the graduated scale, and asserting his preference for the former.

Sir R. INGLIS said, he should be ashamed to make the slave trade a party question. The present issue was not upon corn, or timber, or cotton; but it was, whether you should encourage an increased production of sugar grown by slaves, thereby encouraging slavery and the slave trade, with their undiminished, nay, their yearly aggravated cruelties and horrors. He traced the negroes from their forcible capture, amid fire and slaughter, through the atrocities of the middle passage, describing those miseries with great force and truth. He asked with what face could the ministers who encouraged such enormities enforce upon foreign nations the suppression of the slave trade? The answer would be that England was pursuing that object, not as a matter of humanity, but as a commercial speculation. After that, there was an end of our place at the head of the moral force of Europe.

Mr. C. WOOD dwelt upon the argument derived from the already existing and hitherto uncensured trade of this country in tobacco, cotton, and other branches of slave grown produce. He urged the present distress of the manufacturing districts, and pressed for relief. He enlarged upon the importance of our foreign as compared with our home trade; and insisted on the importance of a low price of corn, for the cheaper the labourers could buy their bread, the more money they could spare to buy sugar and other neces-

saries. Some less must be sustained from the present proposals by the protected classes. He himself belonged to one of those classes; but he was willing to take his share of the sacrifice. He then entered into the question of the revenue to be raised upon sugar, and defended the estimates of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the proposals of government were to be rejected, some intimation ought to be given as to some other means of supplying the deficiency; but no such means had been suggested from the opposite side of the house. He referred to a declaration made last year by Sir R. Peel, that to meet deficiency of revenue merely by a loan was an expedient discreditable to a great country; and, should the right hon. baronet come into office, he would no doubt recollect and act upon that declaration. Would gentlemen recur then to a house-tax or to a property-tax? A property-tax should be kept as a reserve for war; yet without such a tax at this moment he saw no resource except in the present proposals.

Mr. GOULBURN reminded the house that this was the year in which the slave apprenticeship had been originally destined to cease. What, he asked, would have been the feeling of the house if Lord Stanley on the day when he introduced that measure, had proposed that in the moment when that apprenticeship should terminate, the slave trade should be let loose with unlimited licence? He did not now deny the exigency of our finances, but he denied that ministers had pointed out in what way their proposals would redress that exigency. Mr. C. Wood had asked how the conservatives would supply the defalcation. The answer was, by letting things alone, by letting colonial and East Indian sugar come in as it was now disposed to come. As for any reduction of price to the consumer, the language of government was wholly fallacious. The price was already lower than the rate to which the noble lord had promised that his measure would eventually reduce it. He disclaimed for himself and his friends the imputation of insensibility to the value of foreign trade; but to a foreign trade directly encouraging the traffic in slaves he was not prepared to consent. So soon as the slave-growing exporters of Brazil should have received permission to enter our markets, there would be an end to all our means of influencing them toward a mitigation of their slave system. It was not for this country to admit their produce until that amelioration should have been effected. Meanwhile, she might rely on sufficient supplies from her own colonies, and from the East Indies.

Sir GEORGE GREY congratulated the house that at last, after three nights of reserve, as to the plan of finance contemplated by the conservatives, Mr. Goulburn had disclosed the secret, that their plan was to let things alone. Mr. Gladstone's speech took a high tone of morality, but it was to last only while sugar was at 57s. The truth was, that at the bottom of the resistance opposed by the conservatives to the reduction of duty on foreign sugar, was their repugnance to a reduction of the protection upon corn; and with them came forward the West Indian body, professing their horror of slavery! It was said that the objection against admitting slave-grown produce applied only to the case of sugar, which required a severity of toil not requisite for cotton or tobacco; but the people of England would take no such nice distinctions; their objection was broadly and plainly to slavery, in whatever way the labour of the slave might be directed. To exclude, however, all produce of slave labour would be a chimerical attempt. English capital was largely employed in the Brazils, if not to cultivate sugar, yet to maintain banks, and to work mines, which mines were wrought by the sinews of African slaves. He had no doubt that large supplies of sugar would be furnished by the East Indies; but then, by the way, those East Indian sugars would do just as much harm to the West Indies as the same amount of foreign sugars would have done. It was too much to ask of the English people, after all they had paid in the shape of compensation for the suppression of slavery, to pay as much more in the annual shape of high prices for the maintenance of prohibition. The more this subject was discussed, the better, he was sure, would it be understood by the soundly-thinking part of the people.

Lord SANDON said a few words in explanation of his own intentions.

Mr. GOULBURN explained, that by the recommendation to let things alone, he intended only to dissuade the house from interfering with those supplies of sugar which were sure to arrive in sufficient abundance from our own possessions.

Mr. IRVING, the member alluded to by Sir George Grey as having capital employed in Brazil, addressed the house against the government measure. He admitted that he was connected with Brazilian mines. So were many other members of that house, and he wished them joy of the concern [laughter]. He was inclined to make over his share to Sir George Grey for nothing [more laughing].

The debate was again adjourned.

Wednesday, May 12.

Mr. CHOLMONDELEY observed that the anticipated reduction, being only about 1s. 6d. per cwt., was insufficient to give an abatement of even a farthing in the lb. to the purchaser, so that the whole benefit, as in the leather tax, would go into the pocket, not of the poor consumer, but of the retail trader. What would be the gain to the revenue, the government had furnished no data for ascertaining. He would oppose this measure as injurious to the West Indians, stimulative of the slave trade, and generally prejudicial to the great interests of the country.

Lord HOWICK defended the measure of the government on the ground of the incitement which it would afford to free labour, to exert itself against the danger of being undersold in the sugar trade. He should gladly see the ministers remove all the remaining restrictions on the commercial intercourse of our colonists; he would give them every aid in a fair competition; but he would not consent to assist them by the continuation of monopolies. He would, however, do more—he would carry force into the continent of Africa itself, for the purpose of compelling the natives to relinquish the traffic in slaves. We had undertaken many wars for slighter causes. The source to which he looked for the relief of the domestic population was not the abatement of a penny in the pound on sugar (though that, if obtained, would be an important boon), but the extension of the field for their industry. The cry of humanity now raised was nothing better, in the mouths of most of those who used it, than a cover for opinions which he looked at with disgust. The newly-assumed cloak of philanthropy would not hide the objects of interested monopoly. He trusted that the house would not be led to reject a measure of relief for the working classes at home, by the fear of aggravating the foreign slave trade. The only alternative would be the imposition of some heavy tax, which would convert the poorest class of rate-payers into rate-receivers. What might be the result of this particular division he could not pronounce; but he was sure that, ultimately, some such measure as the present was inevitable. He remembered when no man ventured in that house openly to assert the principles of free trade. Mr. HUSKISSON himself introduced them in disguise. But in the present debate the speakers on all sides conceded those principles;

they were now a whole house of free traders, only that each interest made an exception in its own particular case. After so great an advance in public opinion, he was persuaded that the old system could not survive for many years.

Mr. WYNN reminded ministers that their plea last year for not proposing a change in the corn laws (which was now connected by them with their proposal for a change in the sugar duties) had been the evil of agitation. Yet now, their only motive for proposing what they knew they could not carry was to raise that very agitation. He was happy, however, to say that they had failed to excite it. With respect to sugar, the pretended protection would be unavailing; for free labour could not but be undersold by slavery, working as in Cuba and Brazil with gangs of males alone, who were used up, killed off, and replaced, without reference to any consideration but the amount of produce. The West Indian monopoly, of which so much was said, had ceased to exist; the sugar of the East Indies had destroyed it. Much credit had been arrogated to the whig party for their exertions in the suppression of slavery; but it would be seen by reference to the history of past parliaments and past administrations, that the whigs had no title to take such credit exclusively, and that men of all parties had co-operated in this object.

Mr. EVANS said, that having always been an opponent of slavery, he would not, if he had entertained apprehensions on that subject, have supported this measure for the sake of any ministry; but he did not concur in the objections brought against it by some of his friends: and, believing it necessary for the labouring poor at home, he should give it his assistance.

Lord WORSLEY, advertent to the connexion between sugar and corn in this budget, read evidence to prove the injurious consequences of a fixed duty on the latter article. The fixed duty now proposed would be accepted only as an instalment; and in the first year of scarcity there would be a demand for the removal of all protection whatever. He was aware that he was co-operating with those through whose means the power of the state was about to be transferred to the gentlemen opposite; but that consideration should not induce him to neglect his duty to his constituents.

Sir A. GRANT referred to evidence demonstrating that the sugar cultivation of the West Indies could not be carried on, if the slave system of Cuba and Brazil were admitted into competition with it. The West Indian property in slaves before the emancipation had rested on the foundation of law: it was a recognized property. Its appraised value was nearly 60,000,000l. sterling. Could it be supposed that the proprietors would have accepted 20,000,000l. for it, if they had apprehended that the means of working out the difference were also to be taken away from them? They did not accept the grant in compensation for a total annihilation of their estates. After warmly vindicating his friends against the imputation of hypocrisy, he adverted to the inadequacy of what was proposed under the name of a protecting duty, and stated that the cost of making a hundred-weight of sugar by free labour exceeded the cost of the hundred-weight of slave-grown sugar, with the duty, by more than 12s.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL considered the grant of the 20,000,000l. to have been given to the West Indian proprietors, not as a compensation, but as a charity. He would oppose Lord Sandon's motion, keeping in view a proposal intended to be made in committee by Mr. O'Connell, sen., for the exclusion of all such foreign sugar as should be the growth of slave labour. He should have no objection, however, to a reduction of the duties on colonial as well as on foreign sugar. With respect to the corn question, he would only say, that though he was an Irish member, and though he differed from many of his colleagues, he was prepared to support the alteration of the present law.

Sir JOHN REID read a letter from Mr. Horsley Palmer, condemning the proposed alterations both as to corn and as to sugar. He respected many individuals of the administration, but, speaking of them as a government, he must say that a more reckless one he never saw nor heard of. Their sun was now setting to rise no more. He hoped the House would come to a decision speedily, but in the mean time trade was at a stand.

Mr. GIBBORNE complained of the tactics of the opposition, who by means of Lord Sandon's motion were taking their debate and division on a by-point, instead of coming to issue on the merits of the main subject. He proceeded to discuss the probable amount of the supplies of sugar to be expected from the British colonies, which, in his opinion, had been greatly over-estimated; and concluded with a quotation from a speech delivered by Sir R. Peel in 1832, which he regarded as indicating that the fate of the corn laws and of the sugar duties was sealed.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT said the principle of free trade, which in the abstract every one admitted, was indeed a simple one, if all considerations were to be omitted of existing interests and of the distress to be inflicted by precipitate changes. He stated some details respecting the condition and prospects of the sugar market; and ably exposed the absurdity and injustice of those who had attempted to fix the charge of hypocrisy upon the opponents of the government measure.

Mr. V. SMITH objected that the proposition enunciated in Lord Sandon's amendment was not founded in fact; for that the real object of the grant of 20,000,000l. was to extinguish slavery in our own plantations, which object had been completely effected. He cited official documents to show the present comfort and even luxury of the negro's condition; and argued that the people of England ought not to be taxed for the purpose of pushing his prosperity still further. He wished to make the negroes work, not by the lash, but by the pressure of competition from without. They should know that unless they exerted themselves, they would be superseded by the effects of slave-labour. Meanwhile, however, all possible means were in progress for the suppression of the slave trade, both by our naval force on the African coast, and by the recently organized attempt at commercial civilization.

Lord STANLEY denied the frequent assertion, repeated by Mr. Gibborne, that Lord Sandon had not met the original proposition in a direct manner: the proposition before the House was, that they should go into Committee on the plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for raising 700,000l. towards the deficiency by an alteration in the sugar-duties; and Lord Sandon's resolution told the House that they would not go into Committee to adopt that plan. It was said on the other side, that the proposal was only part of a great plan for altering the duties on sugar, timber, and corn; and he did not complain of that avowal: but he did complain of their being told that a great principle was involved, and a broad line of demarcation to be drawn in point of principle between those who voted on one side or the other. If so, the Government resolution ought to declare what that principle was. The principle, indeed, was said to be that of free trade—

Now he had not heard any member, either on one side of the house or on the other, except the honourable member for London, advance the doctrine which he considered to be the doctrine of free trade. If he understood the doctrine of free trade, it was that we should buy in whatever markets we could buy cheapest; that we should have no protecting-duties for the purpose of protecting one or the other interest; that all duties should be levied for the purposes of revenue; that they should be as light as possible; that they should be impartially diffused over all imports; and that if there were any reduction or discrimination—and this was a principle which was asserted most broadly as the principle of free trade—they ought to charge nothing or as little as possible upon those imports which embrace articles of general consumption. He

profitable for them to carry on. The cruelest of our revenue laws are mild and gentle in comparison of some of our absurd and oppressive monopolies, which, like the laws of Draco, may be said to be all written in blood; and it may be affirmed, in the language of Dr. Thomson, "of all monopolies, a monopoly in the word of God is the most outrageous."

This I believe to be the true character of monopoly, and I am not, therefore, deterred from acting on such opinions by Dr. Campbell's dissuasion, or his recent assurance to me, that nothing but discomfiture will be the result of any attempt at abolition, adding, that it were as rational to attempt the removal of Windsor Castle to Primrose Hill as to seek the abolition of the monopoly. He is now satisfied with the expedient of taking temporary reduction, leaving the principle untouched, and this after his brilliant denunciation of monopoly and monopolists, in October last, at Liverpool. I, on the contrary, am of opinion (using the words of Dr. Campbell), "that the patentee's protection is a snare for his printer's vigilance,—that his position creates a war between public and private interest,—a war in which, over all countries, and through all time, the individual has triumphed over the multitude"—and I put it to the conscience of every Christian man in the country, whether he does not see it to be his duty to arise and assist to break the fetters of monopoly, by seeking the abolition of the patent.

I will trespass no further on your space now, but conclude, for the present, with a remark from the *Nonconformist* of the 5th instant,—“If, with *monopolists' habits*, the Queen's printer is getting, even from present prices, such a remuneration as to constitute sufficient inducement to brave all but universal execration, how many thousands of families must be deprived year after year of the 'Bread of Life.'”

Sir, obediently yours,
JOHN CHILDS.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Church Rates, abolition of, 287.—From Ilfracombe, Halsted, Quorndon, Wavenhoe, East Bergholt, Burnham (Essex), Welford, Fordingbridge, Stourbridge (two petitions), Kelvedon, Wilton, Great Wigston, Wilbarston and Ashley, Stockwell Head in Hinckley, Wirksworth, Stambourne, Debenham, Chard, Blackburn (two petitions), Badgingham, Melton Mowbray, Fulbourn, Earl Shilton, Woodbridge, Theddingworth, Bosworth, Tockholes, Stokesley in Cleveland (two petitions), Edinburgh, Swansea, Worstead, Measham and Netherseal, Hesketh Lane, Llanfyllin, Downton, Morecott, Thaxted, Thurlaston, Dorer, Knowl Green, Barrowden, Hayes, Blacksnape, Billesdon, North Luffenham, Leith, Naseby, Clipstone, Lymington, Blaen-y-waen, Cripplegate, Burton-upon-Trent, Langham, Chipping, Tamton, Edgeworth Moor, Upavon, Chipping Norton, Maiden Bradley, Frome (three petitions), Diss, Loughton, St. Mary Somerset and St. Mary Mounthaw, London, Southminster, Hackney, Holt, Great Dunmow, Glandwr, Market Harborough (two petitions), Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the three denominations in London and its vicinity, Colchester, Loughborough (two petitions), Swavesey, Penstanton (two petitions), Walsley, Nymet Rowland, Ludgershall, St. Columb, Harborough, Foxton, Keppel Street, Russell Square, London, Newick, Over, Woodhouse, Bures, Islington Green, Houghton-on-the-Hill, Astwood, Thames Ditton, Chelmsford, Little Baddow, Allington, Melbourne (Derby), Kibworth Harcourt, Forest Row, East Dereham, Sherborne, Handsworth, Malton, County of Leicester, Litcham, Wendling, Staines, Reading (four petitions), Southmolton, Riddings, Bridlington, Llanwenarth, Dittisham, &c., Newcastle-upon-Tyne (four petitions), Portsmouth (Chairman of a meeting), Newport (Isle of Wight), Portsea, Dartmouth, Leighton Buzzard, New Alresford, Devonport, Stansted Mountfitchet, Cambridge, Rochester, Chorley, Royston, Cottenham, Bath (eight petitions), Kentish Town, Stansfield, Abergavenny, Swansea (seven petitions), Leeds (six petitions), Arncliffe, Kirkstall, Bristol (fourteen petitions), Camberwell, Holbeck (two petitions), Berkeley, Swanwick, Felsted, Trowbridge, Parsonage Lane (Somerset), Bradford (Wilts), Moulton Coombe, Dunkerton, Norton St. Philip's, Chippingham, Colerne, Holt near Trowbridge, Corsham (Wilts), Sheffield (ten petitions), Monkwearmouth, Peckham (Surrey), Cosely, Bethnal Green (two petitions), Brick Lane (Old Street, Middlesex), Grafton Street (Middlesex), Old Gravel Lane (Middlesex), Shadwell, Clerkenwell, Borough Road (Surrey), New Court (Carey Street, Middlesex), Brompton, Deptford, Sunderland, South Shields, King's Weigh House (London), Gloucester, Cockermouth, Wisbech (two petitions), Horsley, Ingham, Plymouth, Gorseley, Melksham, Thetford, Penzance, Toxteth, Lancaster, Chichester, Jewin Street (Middlesex), Cranfield, Turvey, Pottton, Biggleswade, Harrold, Maulden, Charlton, Macclesfield, Sharnbrook, Wootton, Ridgmount, Sandy, Blunham, Bedford, Sheffield, Keysoe, Headcorn, Sutton Valence, Oxcombe, Warwick, Birmingham, Portsea, Shacklewell, St. Neot's (two petitions), Hail Weston, Rugby, Cheshunt, Uppingham, Plymouth, Camarthen, Ramsgate, King's Norton, Islington (Lancaster), Finchley, Reading (two petitions), Swansea (two petitions), Darlington, Melbourne, Portobello, Bradford (York), Birmingham (two petitions), Llandelofawr, Chatham, Andover, Kildeden, Clidey, Barnard Castle, and East Cowes,

—against abolition, 8.
Church Extension, for, 141; against further grant, 1.
Church Patronage (Scotland), abolition of, 51.
Abolition of Ecclesiastical Courts and release of Mr. William Baines, 5.
Substitution of Affirmations for Oaths, 5.
Lord's day, better observance of, 9.
Idolatry in India, suppression of, 2.
Maynooth College, against further grant, 8.
Suppressed Sees in Ireland, restoration of, 2.
Corn Laws' repeal of, 1111.
—for proposed measure, 5; against, 37.
—against repeal of, 290.
—and Import duties, for repeal and reduction, 21.
Import Duties, revision of, 68.
—for proposed measure, 482; against, 1.
Sugar Duties, for proposed measure, 5; against, 5.
Timber Duties, for proposed measure, 2; against, 7.
Poor Law Amendment Bill, against, 1; for alteration, 18; for, 2.
Medical Profession (No. 1) Bill, against, 1.
—(No. 2) — for, 2; against, 1.
Roman Catholic Relief Act, repeal of, 2.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

MOTIONS.

1. Church Rates—Motion made, and question put, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to abolish Church Rates, and make other provisions for maintenance of churches and chapels in England and Wales."—(Mr. Easthope.) Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words "the Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate upon the amendment proposed to be made to the question (7th May), 'That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair,' be now read," instead thereof. Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question." Amendment and motion, by leave, withdrawn.
2. Earl of Cardigan—Motion made, and question put, "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the Right honourable the Earl of Cardigan, during his command of the Eleventh Hussars, with the view of ascertaining how far such conduct has rendered him unfit to remain in Her Majesty's service."—(Mr. Munro.) The House divided; ayes 58, noes 135.

BILLS PRESENTED, AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Victoria Park Bill.
2. Municipal Corporations Bill, "to render certain municipal corporations rateable to the relief of the poor in certain cases."
3. Felony Explanation Bill.
4. Entails (Scotland) Bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Vaccination Bill.
2. Victoria Park Bill.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME, AND PASSED.

1. Exchequer Bills (£11,000,000) Bill.
2. Excise Collection and Management Bill.

DEBATES.

Tuesday, May 11.

COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL REFORM.—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Mr. MACAULAY, felt himself called upon to speak, in consequence of an intimation thrown out on the preceding night by Mr. Gladstone, that to support the introduction of slave grown sugar was a striking anomaly in the son of Mr. Wilberforce's zealous ally, Zachary Macaulay. He observed that those who now impugned the government measure, laid down no definite principle which would prevent the next government from making the same proposal. What principle was it which allowed a man to wear slave grown cotton on his feet, but forbade him to put slave grown sugar into his mouth? It was our duty to suppress slavery in our own dominions, but we had no right to interfere with the internal slavery of other states. Our first business was with the happiness of the people intrusted to our own government; and that happiness would be destroyed if the exclusion of slave grown produce were applied to the article of cotton, the great staple of our manufacturing towns. The persons who now professed so much anxiety for the welfare of the slaves were those who in former years had struggled the hardest against their improvement. He denied that this budget had been brought forward as a mere forlorn hope. He had fully expected its success when it was opened by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the good seed now sown would not be thrown away. He might not sit where he now sat to reap the fruits; but it would not be the first time that his party had consented to leave the harvest with those who had not borne the heat and burden of the day.

Sir GEORGE CLERK reminded the house, that only last year, upon Mr. Ewart's motion for this very measure, the vote of Mr. Macaulay had been given against it. The principles of free trade were incapable of being pushed to their extreme in a country like this, where the artificial and complicated state of things produced by our national debt made it impracticable for us to maintain our native industry without some protections against the competition of producers who laboured under no such disadvantages. The amount of those protections might be reasonably made a subject of dispute; but the principle was fit to be maintained, for the benefit not merely of the persons protected, but of the entire state. The now coming supplies of our own colonial sugar were estimated as very considerable. Whatever should be re-exported, being a surplus beyond the British consumption, would go into the continental markets, and compete with slave grown sugars; and the price of that surplus, reduced on the continent by that competition, would regulate the price of all the sugar sold in England, and thus ensure a low price of sugar in this country, without any of that dereliction of principle which marked the measure of the government. He had no doubt the success of the great experiment of free labour would be such as to render permanent this augmented supply of sugar from our own colonies; so that the introduction of foreign sugar would not be necessary for the raising of a revenue. The government talked of a reduction of 1s. 6d. per cwt. Now, that would be some boon to the grocers, who had petitioned for it, but it would afford no relief to the poor purchaser, for it would not reduce the price one farthing in the pound. Nor was the reduction of duty any certain pledge for such an increase of consumption as would compensate the loss of revenue from that reduction. In illustration of that remark, he referred to the great falling off in the revenue of the post-office, and censured the absurdity of making such an experiment in the face of a great deficiency of revenue. The conservatives had been charged with having contributed to that deficiency, by sanctioning the expenditure of government. He denied that responsibility: the conservatives, no doubt, had voted the necessary means of national defence; but what had they to do with the policy by which that defence was rendered necessary,—for instance, with the policy of ministers on the subject of China? Those ministers, in their present difficulties, had resorted to their usual system—the extension of fresh boons to their radical allies. They had at first led an attack against the Irish church, which attack they had as discreditably abandoned. They then, in a further strait, made the ballot an open question: and now they come forward with a new set of concessions on the subject of commerce, still to buy the radical votes to their side.

Mr. WARD said the opposition had taken their ground skilfully, for sugar was a topic under which they could combine higher and holier sympathies than could be collected by timber or corn: the government however, was not proposing to discontinue the protection of colonial sugar; a protecting duty of 50 per cent. was still to be left upon that sugar—a duty larger than the warmest advocate of the landed interests would have ventured to ask on behalf of corn. He was glad of the prosperity which the negroes were attaining: but he could not consent to tax the English poor a penny a pound on their sugar that the West India negroes might keep gigs and drink champagne. Gentlemen threatened a union among the sugar, corn, and timber interests, who would reject all compromise; but how would this consist with the liberal principles on the subject of trade attributed to the conservative leader by the friends who knew him best? He then entered into the general question of the corn-laws, comparing the fixed duty with the graduated scale, and asserting his preference for the former.

Sir R. INGLIS said, he should be ashamed to make the slave trade a party question. The present issue was not upon corn, or timber, or cotton; but it was, whether you should encourage an increased production of sugar grown by slaves, thereby encouraging slavery and the slave trade, with their undiminished, nay, their yearly aggravated cruelties and horrors. He traced the negroes from their forcible capture, amid fire and slaughter, through the atrocities of the middle passage, describing those miseries with great force and truth. He asked with what face could the ministers who encouraged such enormities enforce upon foreign nations the suppression of the slave trade? The answer would be that England was pursuing that object, not as a matter of humanity, but as a commercial speculation. After that, there was an end of our place at the head of the moral force of Europe.

Mr. C. WOOL dwelt upon the argument derived from the already existing and hitherto uncensured trade of this country in tobacco, cotton, and other branches of slave grown produce. He urged the present distress of the manufacturing districts, and pressed for relief. He enlarged upon the importance of our foreign as compared with our home trade; and insisted on the importance of a low price of corn, for the cheaper the labourers could buy their bread, the more money they could spare to buy sugar and other neces-

saries. Some less must be sustained from the present proposals by the protected classes. He himself belonged to one of those classes; but he was willing to take his share of the sacrifice. He then entered into the question of the revenue to be raised upon sugar, and defended the estimates of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the proposals of government were to be rejected, some intimation ought to be given as to some other means of supplying the deficiency; but no such means had been suggested from the opposite side of the house. He referred to a declaration made last year by Sir R. Peel, that to meet deficiency of revenue merely by a loan was an expedient discreditable to a great country; and, should the right hon. baronet come into office, he would no doubt recollect and act upon that declaration. Would gentlemen recur then to a house-tax or to a property-tax? A property-tax should be kept as a reserve for war; yet without such a tax at this moment he saw no resource except in the present proposals.

Mr. GOULBURN reminded the house that this was the year in which the slave apprenticeship had been originally destined to cease. What, he asked, would have been the feeling of the house if Lord Stanley on the day when he introduced that measure, had proposed that in the moment when that apprenticeship should terminate, the slave trade should be let loose with unlimited license? He did not now deny the exigency of our finances, but he denied that ministers had pointed out in what way their proposals would redress that exigency. Mr. C. Wood had asked how the conservatives would supply the defalcation. The answer was, by letting things alone, by letting colonial and East Indian sugar come in as it was now disposed to come. As for any reduction of price to the consumer, the language of government was wholly fallacious. The price was already lower than the rate to which the noble lord had promised that his measure would eventually reduce it. He disclaimed for himself and his friends the imputation of insensibility to the value of foreign trade; but to a foreign trade directly encouraging the traffic in slaves he was not prepared to consent. So soon as the slave-growing exporters of Brazil should have received permission to enter our markets, there would be an end to all our means of influencing them toward a mitigation of their slave system. It was not for this country to admit their produce until that amelioration should have been effected. Meanwhile, she might rely on sufficient supplies from her own colonies, and from the East Indies.

Sir GEORGE GREY congratulated the house that at last, after three nights of reserve, as to the plan of finance contemplated by the conservatives, Mr. Goulburn had disclosed the secret, that their plan was to let things alone. Mr. Gladstone's speech took a high tone of morality, but it was to last only while sugar was at 57s. The truth was, that at the bottom of the resistance opposed by the conservatives to the reduction of duty on foreign sugar, was their repugnance to a reduction of the protection upon corn; and with them came forward the West Indian body, professing their horror of slavery! It was said that the objection against admitting slave-grown produce applied only to the case of sugar, which required a severity of toil not requisite for cotton or tobacco; but the people of England would take no such nice distinctions; their objection was broadly and plainly to slavery, in whatever way the labour of the slave might be directed. To exclude, however, all produce of slave labour would be a chimerical attempt. English capital was largely employed in the Brazils, if not to cultivate sugar, yet to maintain banks, and to work mines, which mines were wrought by the sinews of African slaves. He had no doubt that large supplies of sugar would be furnished by the East Indies; but then, by the way, those East Indian sugars would do just as much harm to the West Indies as the same amount of foreign sugars would have done. It was too much to ask of the English people, after all they had paid in the shape of compensation for the suppression of slavery, to pay as much more in the annual shape of high prices for the maintenance of prohibition. The more this subject was discussed, the better, he was sure, would it be understood by the soundly-thinking part of the people.

Lord SANDON said a few words in explanation of his own intentions.

Mr. GOULBURN explained, that by the recommendation to let things alone, he intended only to dissuade the house from interfering with those supplies of sugar which were sure to arrive in sufficient abundance from our own possessions.

Mr. IRVING, the member alluded to by Sir George Grey as having capital employed in Brazil, addressed the house against the government measure. He admitted that he was connected with Brazilian mines. So were many other members of that house, and he wished them joy of the concern [laughter]. He was inclined to make over his share to Sir George Grey for nothing [more laughing].

The debate was again adjourned.

Wednesday, May 12.

Mr. CHOLMONDELEY observed that the anticipated reduction, being only about 1s. 6d. per cwt., was insufficient to give an abatement of even a farthing in the lb. to the purchaser, so that the whole benefit, as in the leather tax, would go into the pocket, not of the poor consumer, but of the retail trader. What would be the gain to the revenue, the government had furnished no data for ascertaining. He would oppose this measure as injurious to the West Indians, stimulative of the slave trade, and generally prejudicial to the great interests of the country.

Lord HOWICK defended the measure of the government on the ground of the incitement which it would afford to free labour, to exert itself against the danger of being undersold in the sugar trade. He should gladly see the ministers remove all the remaining restrictions on the commercial intercourse of our colonists; he would give them every aid in a fair competition; but he would not consent to assist them by the continuation of monopolies. He would, however, do more—he would carry force into the continent of Africa itself, for the purpose of compelling the natives to relinquish the traffic in slaves. We had undertaken many wars for slighter causes. The source to which he looked for the relief of the domestic population was not the abatement of a penny in the pound on sugar (though that, if obtained, would be an important boon), but the extension of the field for their industry. The cry of humanity now raised was nothing better, in the mouths of most of those who used it, than a cover for opinions which he looked at with disgust. The newly-assumed cloak of philanthropy would not hide the objects of interested monopoly. He trusted that the house would not be led to reject a measure of relief for the working classes at home, by the fear of aggravating the foreign slave trade. The only alternative would be the imposition of some heavy tax, which would convert the poorest class of rate-payers into rate-receivers. What might be the result of this particular division he could not pronounce; but he was sure that, ultimately, some such measure as the present was inevitable. He remembered when no man ventured in that house openly to assert the principles of free trade. Mr. Huskisson himself introduced them in disguise. But in the present debate the speakers on all sides conceded those principles;

they were now a whole house of free traders, only that each interest made an exception in its own particular case. After so great an advance in public opinion, he was persuaded that the old system could not survive for many years.

Mr. WYNN reminded ministers that their plea last year for not proposing a change in the corn laws (which was now connected by them with their proposal for a change in the sugar duties) had been the evil of agitation. Yet now, their only motive for proposing what they knew they could not carry was to raise that very agitation. He was happy, however, to say that they had failed to excite it. With respect to sugar, the pretended protection would be unavailing; for free labour could not but be undersold by slavery, working as in Cuba and Brazil with gangs of males alone, who were used up, killed off, and replaced, without reference to any consideration but the amount of produce. The West Indian monopoly, of which so much was said, had ceased to exist; the sugar of the East Indies had destroyed it. Much credit had been arrogated to the whig party for their exertions in the suppression of slavery; but it would be seen by reference to the history of past parliaments and past administrations, that the whigs had no title to take such credit exclusively, and that men of all parties had co-operated in this object.

Mr. EVANS said, that having always been an opponent of slavery, he would not, if he had entertained apprehensions on that subject, have supported this measure for the sake of any ministry; but he did not concur in the objections brought against it by some of his friends: and, believing it necessary for the labouring poor at home, he should give it his assistance.

Lord WORSLEY, advertent to the connexion between sugar and corn in this budget, read evidence to prove the injurious consequences of a fixed duty on the latter article. The fixed duty now proposed would be accepted only as an instalment; and in the first year of scarcity there would be a demand for the removal of all protection whatever. He was aware that he was co-operating with those through whose means the power of the state was about to be transferred to the gentlemen opposite; but that consideration should not induce him to neglect his duty to his constituents.

Sir A. GRANT referred to evidence demonstrating that the sugar cultivation of the West Indies could not be carried on, if the slave system of Cuba and Brazil were admitted into competition with it. The West Indian property in slaves before the emancipation had rested on the foundation of law: it was a recognized property. Its appraised value was nearly 60,000,000*l.* sterling. Could it be supposed that the proprietors would have accepted 20,000,000*l.* for it, if they had apprehended that the means of working out the difference were also to be taken away from them? They did not accept the grant in compensation for a total annihilation of their estates. After warmly vindicating his friends against the imputation of hypocrisy, he adverted to the inadequacy of what was proposed under the name of a protecting duty, and stated that the cost of making a hundred-weight of sugar by free labour exceeded the cost of the hundred-weight of slave-grown sugar, with the duty, by more than 12s.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL considered the grant of the 20,000,000*l.* to have been given to the West Indian proprietors, not as a compensation, but as a charity. He would oppose Lord Sandon's motion, keeping in view a proposal intended to be made in committee by Mr. O'Connell, sen., for the exclusion of all such foreign sugar as should be the growth of slave labour. He should have no objection, however, to a reduction of the duties on colonial as well as on foreign sugar. With respect to the corn question, he would only say, that though he was an Irish member, and though he differed from many of his colleagues, he was prepared to support the alteration of the present law.

Sir JOHN REID read a letter from Mr. Horsley Palmer, condemning the proposed alterations both as to corn and as to sugar. He respected many individuals of the administration, but, speaking of them as a government, he must say that a more reckless one he never saw nor heard of. Their sun was now setting to rise no more. He hoped the House would come to a decision speedily, but in the mean time trade was at a stand.

Mr. GIBBORNE complained of the tactics of the opposition, who by means of Lord Sandon's motion were taking their debate and division on a by-point, instead of coming to issue on the merits of the main subject. He proceeded to discuss the probable amount of the supplies of sugar to be expected from the British colonies, which, in his opinion, had been greatly over-estimated; and concluded with a quotation from a speech delivered by Sir R. Peel in 1832, which he regarded as indicating that the fate of the corn laws and of the sugar duties was sealed.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT said the principle of free trade, which in the abstract every one admitted, was indeed a simple one, if all considerations were to be omitted of existing interests and of the distress to be inflicted by precipitate changes. He stated some details respecting the condition and prospects of the sugar market; and ably exposed the absurdity and injustice of those who had attempted to fix the charge of hypocrisy upon the opponents of the government measure.

Mr. V. SMITH objected that the proposition enunciated in Lord Sandon's amendment was not founded in fact; for that the real object of the grant of 20,000,000*l.* was to extinguish slavery in our own plantations, which object had been completely effected. He cited official documents to show the present comfort and even luxury of the negro's condition; and argued that the people of England ought not to be taxed for the purpose of pushing his prosperity still further. He wished to make the negroes work, not by the lash, but by the pressure of competition from without. They should know that unless they exerted themselves, they would be superseded by the effects of slave-labour. Meanwhile, however, all possible means were in progress for the suppression of the slave trade, both by our naval force on the African coast, and by the recently organized attempt at commercial civilization.

Lord STANLEY denied the frequent assertion, repeated by Mr. Gibborne, that Lord Sandon had not met the original proposition in a direct manner: the proposition before the House was, that they should go into Committee on the plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for raising 700,000*l.* towards the deficiency by an alteration in the sugar duties; and Lord Sandon's resolution told the House that they would not go into Committee to adopt that plan. It was said on the other side, that the proposal was only part of a great plan for altering the duties on sugar, timber, and corn; and he did not complain of that avowal: but he did complain of their being told that a great principle was involved, and a broad line of demarcation to be drawn in point of principle between those who voted on one side or the other. If so, the Government resolution ought to declare what that principle was. The principle, indeed, was said to be that of free trade.

Now he had not heard any member, either on one side of the house or on the other, except the honourable member for London, advance the doctrine which he considered to be the doctrine of free trade. If he understood the doctrine of free trade, it was that we should buy in whatever markets we could buy cheapest; that we should have no protecting duties for the purpose of protecting one or the other interest; that all duties should be levied for the purposes of revenue; that they should be as light as possible; that they should be impartially diffused over all imports; and that if there were any reduction or discrimination—and this was a principle which was asserted most broadly as the principle of free trade—they ought to charge nothing or as little as possible upon those imports which embrace articles of general consumption. He

believed that he had fairly stated the principle of free trade; and if that principle was fairly stated, what approach towards it had been made by the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Neither party in that discussion had been guilty of the indiscretion imputed to them by honourable gentlemen opposite. This was no question of unrestricted free trade on one side and of prohibition on the other. Lord John Russell himself had stated in that House, and he had been informed that in another place the noble lord at the head of the government had stated, that their object was plainly and distinctly to afford protection. Protection, then, was their intention, and not free trade. He would ask Lord John Russell how he could stand before the country as the advocate of free trade, and at the same time impose duties for protection upon sugar, upon timber, and upon corn?

But Government went beyond the line of protection—

Lord John Russell said, also, he was for free trade in timber; and yet, what was he about to do? Not only to keep up the discriminating duty between Baltic and Canadian timber, but he, an advocate of free trade, went one step further, and on the inferior article, and that which was mainly consumed by the lower classes, he intended to impose an additional duty of 100 per cent. beyond the present duty, for the purpose of revenue.

The thing to be determined, then, was the amount of protection which might be afforded to different interests; and in that respect the same rule could not be applied to the agriculturist and to the manufacturer; the capital of the former being so much less moveable, and less independent of the seasons; and sugar was one of those descriptions of agricultural produce with respect to which the application of the rule was matter of peculiar difficulty. But admitting the general principle as applicable to both agriculture and manufactures, if it was necessary to foster a manufacture in its infancy by protection, it was especially necessary in the present case of the sugar-trade. Lord Stanley entered into details, exhibiting the probable abundance of the future supplies of sugar from our own colonies, and the excess of those supplies beyond any likelihood of British consumption. The management of this question, he said, was matter of the greatest importance, with reference to the course which foreign nations would take in respect of the great experiment of Emancipation. Lord Stanley showed that Mr. O'Connell's intended resolution for discriminating between free and slave sugar, proposed an impossibility, for it was directly in the teeth of the existing treaty with Brazil; in opposing such a proposition, therefore, to Lord Sandon's resolution Mr. O'Connell was in effect supporting the government measure. Yet last year he joined with government in opposing a proposal brought forward by Mr. Ewart, identical with that now made by government; though there was even less need for it this year than there was then—

The price of sugar when that motion was brought forward was 56s. and 57s. a hundredweight, and was then rising. The price had now fallen 20s. a hundredweight. The price reached its maximum soon after that period, when foreign sugar was imported; it then gradually fell to 36s. a hundredweight, and within the last day or two it had risen 1s. and was now at 37s. a hundredweight. Thus, when Mr. Ewart brought forward his motion, the pressure on the consumer was 56s. a hundredweight, with a rising price; and from that time there had been a gradual decrease in price until now, when that decrease amounted to 20s. a hundredweight—more than 2d. a pound to the consumer.

Lord John's argument, derived from the happy condition of the Negro, Lord Stanley retorted upon him—

The noble lord said that the negroes were purchasing freeholds; that marriage was becoming more frequent amongst them; that population was increasing. Thus were all the most material elements of prosperity sown among them, if they would only have patience. The immense importance of the question might be inferred from the fact that in Jamaica alone 90,000 negroes divided amongst them in one year the sum of 1,750,000l., the produce of their labours in the cultivation of sugar. Was this a state of things into which the noble lord ought to break? He said nothing of the hundreds of millions permanently invested in machinery and land—he said nothing of the 20,000,000l. paid by this country, or of the ruin to which it would subject our fellow countrymen in the West Indies; but he would ask them, when they saw the negro acquiring habits of honest industry, stimulated to labour by the wages offered—when they saw an increasing population, and when they knew that all this flourishing condition was owing solely to the consumption by this country of their staple article of production—he would ask them, if this was a moment to choose for the destruction of their incipient prosperity? Was this the moment to choose for the introduction of a new competition in the shape of slave-grown sugar, depriving the negro of those wages which, while they amply repaid him for his labour, were the means of stimulating him to laborious exertion?

The deficiency had been attributed to commercial distress. He felt deeply for the distress of our manufacturing districts; but it would become the government to pause before they closed, for the sake of a new vent in Brazil, that great colonial market, which had hitherto afforded so large an outlet for British commodities, and that other fresh and unlimited market which was now opening itself in the valley of the Ganges? And what was the true cause of the distress?

When they talked of distress, he would call the attention of government to the disturbed state of our affairs in America—to the uneasy situation in which our relations had stood with respect to a powerful neighbouring state—to the recent events in the East—to the transactions in Syria—to the condition of our East Indian possessions—and to the loss, amounting to 3,000,000l., which our merchants had sustained by the destruction of opium, and to our relations with China—and then ask whether these were not sufficient to account for the present commercial distress? He, however, did not despair of the finances of this country, under a good, prudent, and proper administration [loud and prolonged cheers]. When he found that with a constantly increasing revenue during the last five years, in the first of which there was a surplus of 1,600,000l. and in the last a deficit of 2,400,000l.; when he found that for five continuous years there had been, with a gradually increasing revenue, a gradually accumulating deficiency, amounting at the end of that period to about 7,000,000l.; when he saw, moreover, that a great deficiency in the present year was to be accounted for by an expenditure incurred on account of Canada and China; when he saw that the moment of a great financial deficiency was the time government selected for taking off a tax which produced, without pressure upon or injury to the people, 1,600,000l.; when he saw that in these three items he could trade the whole amount of deficiency in the present year, he might be excused if he entertained some doubts of the capabilities of those who had involved us in these difficulties [renewed cheers].

Lord Stanley denounced the last act of expiring desperation—

It had been said, that whatever might be the result of the immediate proposition, the seed was sown which would produce its fruits in due time. He feared that the seed was sown which would produce a bitter fruit; and deeply regretted that at the moment when the government felt themselves tottering to their fall—[loud cheers]—when the financial difficulties of the country, to say the least of them, were most serious—when, he would not say county by county, but borough by borough, they saw their hold upon the country gradually slipping away from them—[great cheering]—that at that moment, when the common consent of the country proclaimed, whatever might be the opinion of honourable gentlemen opposite, that they could no longer hold the reins of office, as they had long since ceased to hold the reins of power—[renewed cheering]—he regretted, he said, that this should be the time chosen by government for throwing loose upon the country a crude and undigested scheme, involving the most extensive financial regulations, deeply affecting every interest in the country, paralyzing for the time all speculations in trade and all activity of commerce; and this under the full conviction that it was impossible they would be able to carry the project into effect [great cheering].

Against Mr. Gisborne's quotation of Sir Robert Peel's speech in 1833, Lord Stanley made a different sort of quotation: since then they had been taught by the present ministry that the government support of a measure did not make its ultimate adoption so certain as it used to be in former years—

He held in his hand a matter-of-fact paper, the Price Current of Liverpool, dated Tuesday the 11th May, 1841, containing the following commercial view of this amazing scheme, this new principal, which was to be developed and carried into effect by government. It was signed by two gentlemen, one a warm conservative, the other

a warm supporter of the government—so much for its impartiality; and at the end of it, under the head of "corn," were these words: "Sir—Since the development of the ministerial plan, the bare allusion to which excited such a panic in the trade, the market has become much calmer"—he had omitted a parenthesis after the word "market," saying, "from a conviction that no such project can be carried into effect" [repeated cheering].

Thursday, May 13.

Mr. BROTHERTON urged that the proposals of the government ought to be considered as a whole, and not to be taken piecemeal. The question was, whether the labouring classes should have cheap or dear bread, and whether they should have more employment or less? The hon. gentleman read some statements, to show the great distress prevailing in the manufacturing districts; and as the land had increased in value, owing to the prosperity of commerce and manufactures, so their decline would inevitably depress land again. The burdens on the people were heavy, but the taxes were not the heaviest of those burdens. The people paid more to the monopolists than they did to the state.

Mr. ALSTON said it was the duty of the House to inquire into the existing tariff, with a view to its modification. He admitted that to cheapen bread was not to benefit the poor, and he should oppose any attempt to remove the protection now enjoyed by agriculture. He was an enemy to slavery, but he did not see how slavery was promoted by the now proposed duties on sugar. He cited the opinion of some members of the anti-slavery society, that these measures had no such injurious tendency, and declared his intention to vote with the government.

Mr. HARLAND objected to make this extensive change for the purpose of meeting a temporary deficiency of revenue. That deficiency had mainly arisen from the post-office reduction; but the parties who had demanded and obtained that reduction had not been the colonial or the agricultural, but the mercantile interests. He believed that the present proposal would injure the colonists, would retard the improvement of the negroes, and would be unattended with benefit to the working classes at home.

Mr. HASTIE believed that the traders connected with the East Indies were not, as had been supposed, unfriendly to these changes, with the exception of the East India Company.

Mr. PALMER, of Essex, as connected with East India commerce, took a view opposed to that of the preceding speaker. He was no friend of monopoly, but he could not approve such freedom of trade as the ministers were recommending, which was the free trading of the highwayman, or of the Arab of the desert. He entered into a variety of commercial details for the purpose of disproving the ministerial theories.

Mr. CLAY observed upon the inconsistency of the opposition, who at one moment inveighed against this measure as encouraging slavery by the admission of slave-grown sugars, and at another asserted that not a single pound of such sugar would ever find its way to our markets. Ministers provided for both events: if the supply from our own colonies should be sufficient, that supply would yield the required revenue; if that supply should fail, the revenue would be raised from the sugar of foreign states. He thought it peculiarly ungracious in the East India Company, whose territories had just been relieved from the colonial monopoly, to quit their vocation of sovereigns, and join in the cry against free trade. He denied that the saccharine value of foreign muscovado sugar was greater than the saccharine value of the muscovado sugar of the British colonies, but the contrary; and maintained that the proposed difference of duty was, therefore, a sufficient protection to the British colonial sugar. It had been argued, by Lord Stanley, that the principle of the government was not that of free trade, but that of protection. So it was; but of protection at much lower rates than those of the present system.

Mr. CHAPMAN said, his objection to these measures was, that they went to destroy the ships, the commerce, and the colonies of this country.

Sir E. L. BULWER considered this as no question of humanity, but as a purely commercial question, between freedom of trade and monopoly. He renewed the imputation of hypocrisy upon those who protested against the consumption of slave-grown sugar in England, while they assented to the importation of it for refinery and re-exportation, and to the consumption in England of slave-grown coffee, tobacco, and cotton. England would have more influence to reform the malpractices of Brazilian slavery, by becoming the customer of the Brazils, than by refusing to deal with them at all. He was the representative of an agricultural constituency; but he would not therefore band himself with the enemies of all freedom in trade.

Mr. HUME said that he had endeavoured to make himself completely master of the subject. The resistance to the measure of ministers was a mere party movement for the purpose of turning them out. He wished that those who professed so much sympathy with the negroes would think of the white slaves at home. No man disapproved more than he did of the policy which had led to the present deficiency of revenue; but this was not the time to find fault with the cause, but to find means for supplying the necessity. Complaint was made about the deficiency in the revenue of the post-office, but that had been more than compensated in other branches of income. The greatest deficiency had been in the proceeds of these very sugar duties. The present proposal had been represented as a sudden one, adopted on the spur of the occasion. But it was one which the country needed, and he was therefore indifferent whether it were the growth of a year, a month, or a day. The accusation, however, of sudden and groundless change of opinion came from no man with a worse grace than from Lord Stanley. He admitted that the present proposal was one of protection, and not absolutely of free trade. The question was, whether the existing protection were not too high. He was not afraid of the influx of slave-grown sugar; for he believed that free labour would expel the labour of slaves. He was greatly dissatisfied with the course taken by Dr. Lushington; but he was happy to learn that there were other anti-slavery champions who would support the ministers. Not that he agreed with them in their precise amounts of duty; but those were points which could be altered in committee. He denied that cheap food was usually attended with low wages. Moreover, the tax on food did not go into the coffers of the state, but into the pockets of the landed interest. If these proposals were rejected, the only remedy would be to tax the landed interest; though even that was attended with difficulties. The hon. member then entered at great length into arithmetical details, derived from the books of the Custom-house, from which he argued the practicability of raising a sufficient revenue on sugar by the plan of the government. The advices yesterday received from the West Indies induced an apprehension that their sugar supply of next year would fall short, by one-third, of their sugar supply in the year which had just elapsed; and it became necessary, therefore, to provide for the deficiency from the sugar of foreign plantations; for the produce of the East Indies alone would not suffice. Lord Stanley had quoted a Liverpool price-current, stating that the measure could

never be carried. Mr. Hume begged leave to quote another price-current from the same great town, expressing the strongest hope of the measure's success. Ministers had now begun to do well. They began late, it was true; but it was never too late. As long as the House of Commons was composed of the landed interest, ministers would never have its support. Let them side therefore with the millions: let them not be alarmed at losing this division, but persevere in the popular course which they had now commenced.

Friday, May 14.

The adjourned debate was then begun by Mr. P. HOWARD, who contended for the admission of slave-grown sugar, on the ground that the supply of our own colonies was likely to be insufficient. He approved of the principles of the budget, gave credit to ministers for a lofty disregard of the emoluments of office, and announced his conviction that, on an appeal to the country [cheers from the supporters of ministers], the people would respond to the views of the government. He believed that the opposition, if they succeeded to office, would adopt the very project they now resisted; but he wished to see it carried out by reformers, not by conformers. He trusted, at all events, that ministers would not resign without a dissolution [much cheering from the ministerial side].

Mr. Alderman COPELAND bore testimony to the general feeling of mercantile men against this budget, as deeply injurious to the commerce of the country.

Sir H. VIVIAN observed, that people who professed their general belief in the principles of free-trade were often found to desire an exception for their own case. He commented upon the evils of the existing corn-laws; and illustrated them by quoting an opinion expressed by the gunmakers of Birmingham, that they could not compete with those of Belgium while the corn-laws continued to keep up the price of bread, which was the standard of wages. He was as zealous as any man in his hatred of slavery; but he did not consider himself inconsistent in endeavouring to increase the general consumption of sugar. There would be no colonial sugar displaced, if, as he expected would happen, consumption would be increased so far as to absorb a quantity of Brazilian sugar in addition to the colonial.

Sir C. DOUGLAS complained of the Committee on Imports appointed at the close of last session, whom he considered as having acted not quite fairly, but rather upon a foregone conclusion in favour of the extreme principles of free trade. All the days of its sitting were so pre-engaged by the partisans of that theory for their own witnesses, that no opportunity was left for any testimony on the other side. He referred to various passages in the conduct of the conservative party, evincing their long and steady zeal for the suppression of slavery; and made some strong animadversions upon the unconstitutional tenacity with which ministers were clinging to office.

Sir H. PARNELL considered the enactments now in progress for the relief of colonial trade in respect of lumber and other necessities consumed in the plantations as being more than an equivalent to the West Indians for the disadvantages which this budget might impose upon them.

Sir E. WILMOT said that when ministers, who had never thought of proposing these measures before, came suddenly forward to tell us that the present was the precise time for a change, their declaration in reality meant nothing but this—that the time had come when their supporters were determined to desert them unless these demands were conceded.

Mr. H. F. BERKELEY, though approving the general principles of the budget, could not consent to disturb, by the admission of slave-grown sugars, the experiment now in progress throughout the West Indies.

Mr. PARKER (Sheffield) said, that it was very well for gentlemen to talk of humanity, but it was fitting also that they should think of their constituents, for whom he wished to secure cheap sugar and cheap corn. The time was one of extraordinary distress, and there was a general opinion that something must be done. The anti-slavery institutions in Liverpool, Manchester, and Wakefield, had refused to join in the attack upon the slave-grown sugars, and he had heard that there were tokens of insubordination even in the refractory humanity of Exeter-hall.

Mr. D'ISRAELI took it to be established in this debate that the supply of sugar from our own colonies would henceforth be sufficient, and that the reduction of price from the proposed alterations would be imperceptibly small. The great question seemed to be made upon the value of the market of Brazil. Now that was not a market capable of much expansion. The population of Brazil was but 5,000,000, three of which consisted of slaves, for whose consumption our exports were principally calculated. He wished that ministers would rather turn their attention to increase our commerce with Mexico and the Spanish American States, where there existed no slavery. The distress alleged to exist at present in the manufacturing districts was not denied; but he trusted it was not severer, nor likely to be more permanent, than the commercial distresses which had periodically been felt and complained of from Sir Robert Walpole's time to our own. The markets which now showed a reduction of exports were those which were disturbed by the circumstances of our foreign affairs—China, Turkey, Egypt: in the undisturbed markets there were no symptoms of decrease; on the contrary, he saw the prospects of expanding commerce in the navigation of the Indus, the Danube, and the Niger. He had been surprised to hear the charge of faction brought forward against Sir Robert Peel, and especially by Lord John Russell. If Sir Robert had been factious, Lord John would not now be in office.

Sir H. VERNEY regarded the Brazilian market as a very beneficial one for England. The physical circumstances of Brazil, and especially the direction of her great rivers, were in his opinion highly favourable to our commerce. He desired to admonish his agricultural brethren against resistance to these measures: he desired them to look at the deserted palaces of Spain and of other countries whose shores had been deserted by commerce.

Mr. KEMBLE expressed his astonishment that any of the anti-slavery associations should lend themselves to restore the system of which they had so long and so loudly condemned the cruelty and guilt. Ministers had professed great respect for the opinions of Mr. Huskisson; but they had not acted upon his great financial maxim—that the revenue of this country ought always to be kept at from 3,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.* above its expenditure. He severely condemned the general administration of the whigs, and especially their departure from their original pledge of non-interference. They had thrown upon the Duke of Wellington's government the whole blame of the state in which the country was left when that government retired from office. By their own rule, what must now be their responsibility?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER maintained that the state of the country was much worse when the Duke of Wellington left office than at the present hour. The arguments of the opposition on the sugar question were inconsistent with each other. The measure could not both ruin the West Indian, and fail to yield revenue. The price

which this measure would secure to the British colonist was one which had been exceeded only twice in the whole of the last 20 years. It had been said that the measure would not yield the anticipated revenue. He contended that it would; for when the colonial sugar should rise to a certain point, the foreign sugar would come into competition with it, and so prevent the price from rising to such a height as would check consumption; and while consumption should be maintained to the extent on which he calculated, that revenue might be relied on, which, from his data he took at 700,000*l.* It was proved by the evidence before the import committee, that when the price rose beyond 60*s.* per hogshead, the consumption was checked; but that at 58*s.* or 59*s.* the consumption was interminable; and by this measure the government took security on behalf of the poorer classes that the price should not rise beyond this consumption level. If the colonist and the East Indians could supply the sugar at this moderate price, the foreigner would not get in; but if they were unable to furnish the requisite amount at the reasonable rate, the foreigner would enter and redress the balance. It was true that the supplies of colonial sugar were now plentiful; but that was the very reason for selecting this at the time to introduce the change, because in such a state of the stock it would fall with no sudden hardship on the colonists. Mr. Huskisson had proposed a plan of this kind to the cabinet of his time, and they acceded to its principle, though, from collateral circumstances, the measure was not then brought forward. But the principle having been so sanctioned by the Tories, with what grace did they now seek to ride into power by raising the cry of humanity, and contending that it was contrary to principle to let in slave-grown sugar under any circumstances? The matter was not a trifling one—not one that could have been passed without consideration. There was no truer principle than that of Mr. Huskisson, that if you wish to improve a trade, you must subject it to some competition. With respect to the encouragement of slavery, it must be remembered, that if you sell your goods to a slave planter, you equally encourage slavery, whether you take sugar in exchange, or any other article; for the other article with which he pays you must have been purchased by him with his slave-grown sugar. He reminded the house that last year he had ventured, in spite of the general opinion that no minister could accomplish such an object, to impose direct taxes. He had therefore cleared away that difficulty for the future; but, at this season, and under these circumstances, he did not think it justifiable himself to repeat the experiment. The present opposition made objections; but they proposed no measure of their own. From that they had shrunk, through a debate which had now lasted a week [derisive cheers from the opposition]. Such a policy was perhaps requisite, in order to keep that powerful party together.

Monday, May 17.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Sir CHARLES GREY, complained that Lord Sandon and his supporters had not laid down some clear principle as the ground of their opposition. For himself, he was prepared to give his most cordial support to the plan of the government; and he censured those who combined their interests against it, especially the East Indians, who, having recently acquired the benefit of free trade for themselves, were now desirous of excluding others from a similar boon.

Mr. SMYTHE condemned the ministerial plan, as mischievous both to the East and to the West Indies, and a self-stultification of this country, which had made so many sacrifices for the suppression of slavery.

Mr. P. AINSWORTH insisted on the importance of opening to England the markets of Brazil. He dwelt upon the existing distresses of the manufacturing districts, and called upon the members representing them to support the government.

Mr. HODGES expressed his conviction that British agriculture could not survive any reduction in the price of corn sufficient to put the manufacturers of England in a condition to compete with those of the continent. If foreign countries were to become our sources of supply, to those countries would migrate the capital now employed upon the soil of England. There was no fixed duty that could be imposed, sufficient to compensate the landed interests for those burdens which now bore exclusively upon them.

Mr. TROTTER contended that the import of corn does not command a proportionate export of manufactures; and quoted documentary evidence to show that many of the years in which the exports had been greatest, had been those in which the manufacturing districts had suffered the severest distress.

Mr. ROCHE was understood as preferring a fixed duty on corn to a graduated scale. He approved the scheme of ministers for the reduction of the sugar duties, and likened their expected retirement from office to the setting of the sun.

Mr. TUFNELL complained that Sir R. Peel had not come forward to state his own plans. His administration would be composed of very heterogeneous materials.

Mr. CAYENDISH was willing to enter upon the general plan of modification now proposed by ministers, although he had already refused his support to an inroad on the corn-laws taken singly. He would support the motion that the Speaker should leave the chair, but would not pledge himself to details.

Captain MATHEW observed that it was a novelty to find fault with parties attacked because they united for their own defence. Ministers seemed to think that as they left a deficiency in the Exchequer, no other party would dare to succeed them; but the country would not forget to whom and to what that deficiency was owing, nor blind themselves to the loss occasioned by the wanton reduction of the postage.

Sir B. HALL thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his present proposal. He saw no other source except a tax upon real property, which the gentlemen opposite had always resisted. He hoped that ministers, if beaten, as they would be on this division, would before they separated, take the sense of the house upon the corn-laws, and follow up that discussion with a dissolution [much cheering from the ministerial benches].

Mr. STRUTT considered the 20,000,000*l.* as having precluded the West Indians from all right to complain of any subsequent regulations upon the sugar trade. If the admission of sugar were to be resisted for fear of encouraging the slavery of Brazil, it would be requisite, for the purpose of consistency, to pass a total non-intercourse act with that country, for there was no kind of commerce with Brazil which would not be an encouragement to the slavery subsisting there. The argument of Mr. Trotter told in favour of that change in the corn-laws which it was employed to oppose: for the very objection to the present corn-laws was that, from their uncertainty, they prevented any regular exportation of manufactures, and thus, when there came a sudden demand for corn, it must be paid for by an exportation of gold. He trusted that Ministers, having once taken up a large view of these important subjects, would hold themselves permanently pledged to them.

Mr. MARK PHILIPS, after some complaint of the present depression of the manufacturing interests, congratulated the country on the adoption, by the government, of a financial policy which proceeded on the principle of commercial expansion.

Mr. W. BARRON thought it unfair to free labour to hold out, as the opponents of ministers now did, the opinion that it could not compete with the labour of slaves. Our prohibitory system had already diminished almost to nothing our supply of manufactures to the great markets of Hamburg and Leipsic. He opposed Lord Sandon's motion for these reasons, and also because its object was to turn out a set of ministers who had been the benefactors of the Irish people, and who possessed their confidence. The prices of West Indian sugar were low just now; but they might rise again in any unfavourable year. He hoped that government would feel it their duty to appeal to the country on these questions [great cheering from the ministerialists]. He was shocked at the party proceedings of the opposition.

Mr. WILLIAMS (Coventry) addressed the House in favour of the government measure; but the impatience of members made him almost inaudible.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE denounced the amendment as one of matchless hypocrisy. He was anxious to catch a little of the valuable and virtuous sympathy which he heard expressed for a foreign population in favour of our suffering people at home. The opposition were very skilful in keeping a secret; they would none of them disclose what their own plan was, except Mr. Goulburn, and his remedy was to let things alone. The great causes of deficiency were the reduction of postage and the diminished consumption of excisable liquors; and he presumed the Tories would hardly restore the rates of postage, or the practice of intemperance in Ireland. He complained of the speech of Dr. Lushington in favour of the slaves of Cuba and Brazil, and attributed it to his ignorance of the distress of his own countrymen, of which Mr. Duncombe mentioned various severe examples in the metropolis, in Birmingham, and in other towns. He hoped that the result of this division would not induce the ministers to despond. The same spirit which had assailed this budget with derision had howled against the first opening of the reform bill itself in this house. He believed the country would join the ministers if they persevered; and he would now give them a vote with greater pleasure than on any occasion since his vote against the boroughs in schedule A.

Mr. BUISCOE supported the government measure. He said this was a national, not a party question. It involved the happiness of all, from the Sovereign on the throne to the humblest of her subjects.

Mr. MUNTZ said, he had been much surprised when ministers proposed to destroy, at one fell swoop, the bad system of the last twenty-five years, and he should vote with them. The time had certainly come when they must either cheapen the necessities of life or alter the currency. He believed it was possible to relieve all the existing distresses, if the house would take the right course. The debt of this country had been increased, and its rental had been doubled. These additional burdens had for some time been borne by the people, who could not bear them much longer. As to the corn-law project, however, it would either lower the price of corn, and so lower the rate of wages, to the disadvantage of the working classes; or, if it should not produce those effects, then there would be no advantage to the master manufacturers. The alteration must be made in the monetary system. Without that a repeal of the corn-law would transfer the whole land to the monied interest. The most honest tax would be a tax on property, which would reach money as well as land.

An adjournment was then moved by Mr. Sheil.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Monday, May 10, several petitions for and against an alteration in the corn laws were presented, and on one of these petitions a few remarks made by Earl FITZWILLIAM led to a conversation of some length, in the course of which the Earl of RADNOR urged, in the most impressive manner, the impolicy of the existing laws. The LORD CHANCELLOR read a letter from Sir Robert Stopford, in his own name and that of the officers under his command, in acknowledgment of the vote of thanks agreed to by the House.

On Tuesday the Marquis of LANSDOWNE moved for a committee to inquire into the laws regulating the interest on promissory notes. The bill passed last year would expire in 1843, and it would therefore be advisable, in the mean time, that a committee should inquire into the propriety of renewing the principle of that bill, or abandoning it altogether. Lord ASHBURTON was of opinion that the committee might be put off till another year. The motion was, however, agreed to, and the committee was appointed. Several corn law petitions led to discussions of some interest, the standing orders of the House of Lords offering no impediment to such discussions on the presentation of petitions.

On Thursday the Earl of RADNOR, in moving for a return, in alphabetical order, of the names of those who had received a part of the compensation for emancipated slaves, made some remarks on certain petitions that had been presented against the reduction of the sugar duties. At the head of one of these petitions, in which a pious horror of slavery was professed, stood the name of a gentleman who was himself a proprietor of slaves employed in the gold mines of Brazil. Some of these petitions, coming from the West Indies, prayed that the House would not consent to an equalisation of duties, and were therefore evidently drawn up under a mistaken impression as to the measures contemplated by government. After some remarks from the Earls of HAREWOOD and MOUNTCASHEL, the return was ordered.

On Friday several petitions for an alteration of the corn laws and the abolition of church rates were presented by the Earl of RADNOR, Earl FITZWILLIAM, and other noble lords. Lord WHARNCLEFFE presented petitions from all the principal towns in the kingdom, signed by magistrates, bankers, solicitors, and merchants, praying a revision of the marriage laws, so far as related to the prohibition of collateral consanguinity, and more especially as regarded the prohibition to marry a deceased wife's sister. The noble lord entered into several details upon the subject, and stated that he was quite prepared to bring in a bill, but he refrained from doing so until he had ascertained what the feeling of their lordships was upon the subject. The BISHOP of LONDON said, if the laws of the church were overturned, it would be a heavy blow to morality. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister had been prohibited by the canon law almost from the time of the apostles. He trusted their lordships would pause before they took another of those downward steps which they had taken with regard to marriages during the last two years, for he was prepared to prove that a large

proportion of the marriages within the prohibited degrees had taken place under the recent act.

Monday, May 17.

After several petitions had been presented, the last, which was against any alteration in the present corn-laws, being laid before the house by the Duke of Rutland, Earl Fitzwilliam rose to address the house on that subject. His lordship expressed his astonishment that persons similarly situated, if not identically the same, should come before their lordships with petitions of a completely contrary nature; that in 1835, the period to which he (the noble lord) referred, they should have called on their lordships to take their case into consideration, with a view to an alteration in the corn-laws, while in 1841 they loudly expressed their disapprobation of any alteration. The reason was, that they disliked the low price in 1835, but were well content with the high price in 1841. In the mean time, the manufacturing interest was being depressed, the exportation of perfect manufactures (except to our colonies) had been very much diminished, while that of our own imperfect manufactures, which were afterwards manufactured by foreign states, much to our detriment, had increased. He denied that the rate of wages had risen in proportion to the price of provisions.

The Earl of RIPON said, that with reference to the allegation of the noble Earl respecting the diminution of our exports, he (the Earl of Ripon) took the fact to be exactly the reverse. He then proceeded to show, from official returns, that the official value of all our exports had progressively increased between the years 1829 and 1840, from 52,217,000*l.* to 102,705,000*l.*; and their real value from 35,842,000*l.* to 51,406,000*l.*, and that the decrease on articles perfectly manufactured was in no proportion to the increase on the other sort.

The Duke of RUTLAND was perfectly willing to attribute the political conduct of the noble Earl (Fitzwilliam) to pure patriotism, but thought that no better system could be enacted, as regarded this law, than that of the inverse ratio of price.

The Duke of WELLINGTON said, that the noble Earl (Fitzwilliam) was mistaken in supposing that the exportation of perfect manufactures from this country had diminished. He concurred, however, with the noble earl "in the feeling that the prosperity of the agriculturist must depend on the general prosperity of the manufacturer, and of commercial interests in general" [hear, hear]. "There could be no doubt about that, and these corn-laws were supposed, not with a view to the advantage of any particular interest or class of men, but with a view to render the whole country independent of foreign countries in respect of its supply of food" [hear, hear].

After a warm discussion between Lords Ashburton and Clarendon, arising from the imputation to government by the former of employing agents to get up an unnatural excitement on the subject of the corn-laws, a statement to which the latter gave the most unqualified contradiction. The house adjourned.

Her Majesty held a levee at St. James's Palace on Wednesday, at two o'clock, which was very numerously attended. After the levee her Majesty held a court.

The Queen gave a state ball (the first this season) at Buckingham Palace, on Friday evening. The invitations were very numerous, and the ball was most fully attended by the nobility and gentry.

A meeting of the cabinet was held on Thursday, at two o'clock. It was attended by all the cabinet ministers.

Another cabinet council was held at the Foreign Office on Saturday, at one o'clock. All the ministers were present. Previous to the council, Lord Melbourne had an audience with her Majesty, at Buckingham Palace.

It is stated that Lord Palmerston and Sir John Cam Hobhouse will be immediately raised to the British peerage.—*Standard*.

Dr. Short is appointed to the vacant see of Sodor and Man. The bishop of the see has no seat in the House of Peers.

POSTSCRIPT.

A PARAGRAPH in the *Leicester Journal* of last week contains a document from the Arches Court, purporting that William Baines, of Leicester, has submitted himself, and satisfied the contempt of the court. This is simply the ecclesiastical, half mendacious way of saying that Mr. Baines, having been imprisoned six months, his contumacy is purged. When his rate and costs are paid, he may come forth. He is now the prisoner of the churchwardens. The ecclesiastical court has got rid of him. Neither Mr. Baines himself, we are happy to hear, nor his friends have any idea of yielding the principle, by payment of the rate.

The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have just received from the Havana, a copy of a memorial to his excellency the president, governor and captain-general, from a large number of the inhabitants of that city, proprietors of urban and rural estates. The document is intensely interesting. It traces the gloomy condition of Cuba to the slave-trade, the discontinuance of which is strongly urged. We shall give it entire in our next number.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TERMINATION OF THE DEBATE.

The discussion on the sugar branch of the budget has terminated. On a division the numbers were 317 to 281 in favour of Lord Sandon's resolution.

The speakers were Mr. Sheil, Mr. Herries, Mr. Villiers, Sir E. Knatchbull, Mr. C. Buller, Sir R. Peel, Lord Palmerston, and in reply Lord John Russell.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL stated, that after the protracted debate which the present question had raised, he should not think it necessary to take another discussion on the general proposition of which he had given notice. He would content himself with allowing it to be put from the chair without further argument after the now approaching division. He then, with the view of justifying the continuance of the present ministers in office for some time past, drew a parallel between their circumstances and those of Sir R. Peel's administration in 1835, arguing thence that Sir Robert Peel's tenacity of office had been greater than that of the present administration. The single elections which had lately been decided against ministers, did not, in his opinion, conclude anything against them. He regretted Sir R. Peel evinced no intention of adopting the principles which the government had now advanced. He added a few words on the corn question, which, however, he said he should have another opportunity of discussing more at large.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our columns are too crowded for any articles or reports on "The Bankruptcy Court," this week. Our correspondents from Huddersfield and Wandsworth will see that the subjects they write upon have been taken up by us in our editorial remarks. We have not space for their letters, for which we return them thanks. "The working of the poor-law in agricultural districts" shall be inserted in our next, if possible. "Tempora" is informed that we acknowledged the receipt of the pamphlet he mentions in our fourth number. We respectfully request our country friends, in all possible cases, to give their orders to the news agents in their respective localities; where this is impracticable, the better way is to send the amount of subscription (26s. per annum) by post-office order, direct to the office, which will secure the regular transmission of the paper to their address.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1841.

WORDS! WORDS! WORDS!

AN instructive week, in many senses, has been this past—a week of speeches pregnant with lessons of importance, while containing little wisdom. Through the thick and three-fold cloud of words which has overhung the political firmament, rays of sunlight have occasionally gleamed. Albeit they meant it not,—the two great parties have paid homage to leading principles, the soundness and worth of which they have, from time immemorial, laboured to conceal. Such at last is their relative position, that victory is to be obtained by either, only by an alliance with truth. Warily do they avail themselves of the service of this new ally—gladly would they discard her. No further will they employ her than suits their purpose—but employ her they must.

Well! we learn now after years of silence or mystification, that beyond the boundary wall which encloses the aristocracy, there exists a people—swarming, industrious millions—pinched by want—burdened with taxation—at whose sufferings, borne with wondrous patience, it is safe to laugh no longer. Silent though they have been—silent and inactive, we may mark how our rulers spontaneously move towards them for power. The late unlooked for change in policy was not born of clamour—it is not a boon granted to noisy supplication, or sulkily given to appease threatening wrath. No! but just a confession wrung from aristocratic governors, that a fresh gain in power must be sought at the hands of the people—that right can purchase might. Not much is offered—but the offer itself, though it were ten times less, is a concession that carries in its bosom all other concessions. In letters of burning light recent events have written the truth—that power is with the people, and that justice is the key to it.

This lesson, it is for the people to con and to improve. If they can put up with little things, things little enough will be given, they may rest assured—less, marvellously less than what is promised. They owe the ministerial note of hand to necessity, not to goodwill. It is for them to make the most of their advantage. Ministers ask power—give them a vast deal more than they want—more than they can manage, except by doing justice. "Moderate protection," say they, "help us to give you moderate protection." The true policy of the people is not to refuse the help, but to give it in greater abundance, for much greater objects than their rulers desire. "Abolition of monopolies" should be their response. "You shall have power to put an end to all monopolies." The ruling party are now in the hands of the people. Let them trust nothing to the aristocracy of either section. Something must be done—the principle of class legislators is to do the least possible—that least can only be done by the people, who can do great things much easier than little ones. The terms of the bargain rest with them for decision.

How unsafe, how nothing less than insane it would be, in mere good nature, to leave the settlement of those terms to either section—may be gathered from the wordy debate of the past eight nights. The insincerity of ministers peeps out from every speech of their retainers. Their arguments placed in juxtaposition with their proposals, could hardly fail, we think, although every thing else might, to convince the country that they are not to be trusted. They wield free-trade truths—they dread free-trade results. Anti-monopoly principles are swung round and round their heads, menacing swift destruction to toryism—but it is all show—empty menace—never intended to pass into effect—the furious flourish of which is accompanied by a soothing explanation—"See what powerful things these are—why, with these we could hurl you into political annihilation. But don't be afraid—we have no wish to go so far—all we contend for is protection in the place of prohibition." The distress of the operatives, the panting, exhausted state of trade, the loss of one important market after another, the declining revenue—all gloomy, too true, foreboding facts—are traced to the unsoundness of the principles by which we have regulated commerce and national finance—but by those same principles, both parties intend to abide. They have indicated where they ought to go, for party purposes—they have resolved for exclusive, aristocratic purposes, that there they will not go. The whigs pushed hard, have turned round upon the Tories, and said, "if we chose to do right we could ruin you." This is the interpretation of the whole debate.

See now, with what adroitness, that which first took the shape of an extensive commercial and financial reform, is narrowed into a discussion on sugar duties. The question moved by Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair, for the purpose of going into a committee of "ways and means." Disordered finances—disordered, too, beyond a rational prospect of recovery by usual means, demand a change of our whole commercial system. By what chance is it, if it be a chance, that the discussion has turned upon sugar? Why has the corn abomination been left almost untouched? Why has the stress of debate rested upon the most unimportant of the proposals of government? The Tories proposed the amendment! aye! but must that tie up the tongues of the other party? That it did not wholly, is sufficient proof that it need not have done so at all. But the aristocratic senators of both sides felt that the less said on this topic, all things considered, the better. The landlords are not over-zealous to cut down their own rents.

If this great nation is again cozened it will be through the treachery of the middle classes. We will not suspect them of it. Famishing millions look up piteously into their face, and cry, "give us our own bread—we ask no more—whip us for idleness—shoot us if you like for trespass, but do not starve us, and then punish us because we cannot live." This is the earnest agonizing prayer of pining multitudes, though they utter it not—though in pride they turn their backs upon the middle classes, and utter nothing. Within, their sufferings, and without, their haggard features, emaciated frames, and tears that will not keep down at the bidding of stern resolve, articulate this cry "give us our own—let not the exclusives rob us of our own." What will the middle classes do, we mean the electors? Will they respond to ministers or to the people? Will they carry PROTECTION or REPEAL?

THE NEW MOVE—SOME OF ITS RESULTS—AND THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The excise and custom laws are the most restrictive and oppressive with which commerce can be burthened, yet such is the artificial state in which aristocratic legislation has placed the country, that there is hardly a merchant, or tradesman even, who is not in some way or other injuriously affected in their stocks or contracts the moment it is proposed to relieve them.

They are all in the state in which the human body would be under a pressure, when it had accommodated itself to the weight. Though a most desirable thing to be relieved, the lungs and limbs would in all probability be pained and weak for a time.

This artificial state, caused by landlord legislators, gives rise to much hypocritical, and probably to some well founded complaint, but that which is real is only an unavoidable incident to a return from an artificial to a natural state.

The habit of postponing the public interest to satisfy class interests, is a consequence of the many not being represented,—of an unjust system of taxation—and of the preponderating influence of a state church with a landed monopoly, and the aristocratic ownership of a tithe of the kingdom and the appointment by them of a clerical and law church magistracy, giving the people for judges and magistrates, sectarian lawyers, and a sectarian clergy and squirearchy. Whilst the land in a small island is allowed to be possessed and entailed without limit as to quantity, whilst the land owners are continued by the reform(?) bill the law makers; whilst the same land LORDS are the possessors of the tithes of the kingdom in perpetuity; whilst those same landlords have the appointment (patronage is power) of upwards of 10,800 clergymen to live upon the fruits of the earth, that is to say, upon the labour of the people, to the extent of a tithe of those fruits—not of the increase only—whilst those same landlords can, and do appoint them the administrators of a code, notorious for the variety of its burthensome punishment of the poor, and which their sectarian spirit, always most bitter when most ably challenged by dissenting talent and zeal to spread the gospel amongst, and to educate the many—whilst these 10,800 livings keep 20,000 educated serviles in living expectation, ready to prove themselves worthy by "subscription," and mind twisting,—whilst these things are so, and dissenters are quiescent and are afraid of being thought political when they exert themselves to sever this unholy union, how can we hope to obtain ourselves, or emancipate the poor into gospel freedom.

This artificial state engenders religious hypocrisy and much cloak-ing of secular interests under a garb of sanctity.

Thus slave holders are suddenly converted into humanity-mongers, we wish we could say converted to humanity.

It seems that the West India interest just now deem it their policy to pretend anxiety for the condition of slaves, and the ministry have all the disadvantage arising out of the artificial state of things, which they are called upon to administer, as well as that arising out of their own short-comings, and their indisposition to organic change. They fear that, which if they were of the people, and knew what is in man, they would not fear—they fear to rely upon the people.

We grieve to see that the committee of the London anti-slavery society has fallen into the fear, or at least have avowed the fear, that free trade granted to white men, will be injurious to coloured men. Do they doubt the principles of the New Testament? Can they doubt the safety of the principle of Universal Justice. Or do they fear to do right, and leave the issue with God? Can they read that book and find, that the starvation of one portion of his creatures in our country is HIS mode of blessing, and emancipating another?

We are not surprised that Dr. Lushington has avowed himself sectional in this matter—he has so long acted with the dissenters and encouraged them, when, as a sworn representative of a bishop

of the established church, he *must* deem them schismatics, that we cannot wonder—it is for those who have confided in him, to reconcile his public course with his duties as a judge.

Trimmers begin by refining upon distinctions, they next compound them, and confusion of mind produces the weather-cock in character.

It is gratifying, however, to observe that the country abolition societies are not deceived, and to know that the London committee being so tainted is no just reason for inferring that the society is infected.

The necessity for free trade will daily be forced upon the legislature of the country by the increase of our scientific knowledge, and the immense and hourly increasing power of machinery.

The present concession by the ministry would be received by the richest portion of the manufacturers and middle classes as an important, and for some time as a satisfying, instalment—it would for a time give increased employ and bread to the many, and deprive the leading chartists of the mass of their adherents, whose strength—however just their discontent—is in the empty bellies of their starving countrymen. But the exclusives—the great monopolists in parliament—will struggle as to which of the parties shall grant it, and enjoy the patronage and pickings; and in the meantime the discussion will open the eyes of the people so widely to the enormity of the evil that they will not then be satisfied with less than the abolition.

The corn-law leaguers have shown to the people that our power of production by steam and machinery is equal to the power of 600 millions of men. This production, however, increasing almost geometrically, is the root of the movements, for it must produce starvation unless a corresponding market can be found, or a new mode of distribution and taxation are adopted.

The monopoly of legislation, entails, and primogeniture, must give way, and the monopoly of land, seeing the use that is made of it, will be called in question. Men will read the bible, and ask whether the gift of God to *all* has been and is rightly dealt with. Whatever relief may be yielded which does not involve the mature consideration of the matters to which we have here adverted can only be palliative and for a time.

Science and machinery will necessarily render men's labour a drug in the labour-market, and the benevolence and universal principles of the New Testament as to man, not having travelled into the nomenclature of political economists, man himself is considered and dealt with as a machine, as so much animal mechanism, to be thrown aside now that steam-engine spinning jennies, Jacquard, and other machines, can produce more than his powers. This is not consistent with justice or revelation, and must therefore be superseded by "a more excellent way."

The increase of wealth in the shape of useful products is a blessing in itself, but unless society adopts a system which shall compel its members, when they shall get moderately rich, to leave off accumulating—a system which shall induce a devolution of property, as often as the law of mortality, which is the law of God, withdraws men from the stage of human agency, we shall have no remedy. Ministers of the gospel, we have indicated some of the means,

"Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land."

THE WHIGS AND IMPRISONMENT FOR SEDITION.

THE birthday of the King of the French, has, it seems amongst other things, been celebrated by an amnesty; 520 soldiers under sentence of courts-martial, and 156 convicts have benefited by the royal clemency, besides thirty-one convicts whose sentences were commuted.

We see no reason for connecting the pardon of offences with the mere fact of the birthday of a man, but we approve of using any fitting occasion to show mercy where the release of the offenders is not likely to be attended with public injury, and that is seldom likely upon matters of opinion, when the particular excitement has gone by.

Surely, now that the *policy* of the ministry has induced them to admit the injury the corn laws have done to the poor, and that they are availing themselves of arguments founded on the sufferings of the poor, to convert other men from the oppressive course they have themselves pursued upon this subject, they ought to remember that they have sentenced poor men to be broken alive on the tread-wheel for speaking hard words while pinched with hunger! If their own educated order are so frequently excited into hard words,—nay, even into the disposition to shoot each other, merely from the warmth of debate, such punishments for offences so induced, to poor men without the same restraining influences which enable educated men to withhold violent language, are most disgraceful to any ministry having the power to put an end to them. We enter not upon the question of the poor laws here, but the ministry ought to remember that they brought the new poor law—that sudden transition from relief to half starvation and imprisonment—into action upon the poor, whilst they advocated the continuance of the corn laws, that they proclaimed the people must be independent or starve, but that it was madness to suppose that they should be allowed to buy cheap bread. Are not these causes for pardoning poor men, whose only sin has been, the sin of advocating change from wrong to right? If the ministers do not do this, what hope can they have, that unrepresented men, will or ought to abstain from repeating the Nottingham tactics. Lord Normanby ought to go on an English tour of gaol delivery. Surely Englishmen who have confined themselves to mere words, are as much entitled to consideration as the men who committed personal violence in Ireland.

SUMMARY.

The debate on the ministerial project of commercial and financial reform has occupied the House of Commons throughout the week. The length to which the debate is protracted is unexampled. The result, we shall probably be able to state in our postscript.

An important move has been made in the church-rate question for which we refer to our ecclesiastical articles.

Foreign news are not important with the exception of that which relates to Spain. It will be seen that General Espartero has been chosen to the sole regency, during the minority of the Queen, by a considerable majority.

The Great Western brings no news of the President. She is not yet given up by professional men.

GENERAL POLITICS.

FOREIGN.

SPAIN.—The Madrid journals and private letters of the 8th inst. have been received.

No parliamentary event ever excited so much anxiety as the ballot for the election of the regency. At an early hour all the avenues leading to the Legislative Palace were incumbered with people, and it was necessary to double the posts to keep off the crowd who pressed around it. All the public galleries and the *tribune diplomatique* were filled with spectators. The members of both houses were dressed in their grand costume. It was first ascertained that the number of deputies present was 196, that of senators, 94: in all 290 voters, and the absolute majority consequently 146, or one more than the moiety. The next step of the assembly was to decide, by 254 against 36, that the vote should be public. The next question to be solved, was, whether the regency should consist of one, three, or five members. 153 voted in favour of the single regency, 136 for the triple, and one voice was given for the quintuple regency. The former only obtained the majority with the aid of the 15 or 20 *moderado* senators, who at first intended to support the claim of Queen Christina—otherwise the triple system would have triumphed, the majority, with the exception of the latter, not having exceeded seventeen. The two houses then proceeded to choose the person who was to be vested with the exalted functions of regent. The tickets, written by each member, were read aloud, and, when counted, there appeared—

For General Espartero	179
For Augustin Arguelles	103
For the Queen Dowager	5
For Count Almadovar	1
For Brigadier Thomas Garcia Vicente, one of the heroes of May 2, 1808	1
Blank ticket	1

General Espartero having obtained a majority of 69 votes, was proclaimed sole regent of the kingdom during the minority of the Queen. M. Arguelles, after announcing this result, adjourned the meeting. Everything passed off with perfect order. No murmurs or cries were uttered; the greatest decorum prevailed during the whole of the sitting which lasted four hours and a half. It was said that General Espartero had stationed two of his aides-de-camp in the hall, who reported to him the progress of the proceeding, and that he had horses saddled in his stables ready to leave Madrid, and repair to Logrono, if the trinitarians had gained the day. In the evening the bands of the regiments of the garrisons serenaded the duke, but no other manifestation occurred down to the hour at which the courier left Madrid. The regent was to take the oath in the form agreed to by both Chambers on the 10th.

TURKEY.—The intelligence from Constantinople received by the Smyrna journals comes down to the 27th ult. The announcement of the participation of France in the last deliberations of the London conference, and of her adhesion to the treaty destined to adjust in a definitive manner the affairs of the East, had been received by the Sultan with all the marks of the liveliest satisfaction, and had produced on the Ottoman public generally the most favourable impression. The first dragomans of the great powers had had, for the last ten days, frequent conferences with Rifaat Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Although the object of these interviews had not transpired, yet there were many reasons to believe, that they had reference to the Egyptian question which was considered to be entirely settled. The Divan, as we have already stated, had acceded to the modifications of the *hatti scheriff* of the 13th of February last, required by Mehemet Ali, and a new *hatti scheriff* to that effect was being drawn up, which would be shortly despatched to Alexandria.

AMERICA.—The Great Western arrived at Kingroad from New York on Friday evening at 8 o'clock, having left New York at 2 o'clock on the 1st inst., thus completing her home voyage in 13 days. Her outward voyage was completed in 14 days and a half, having arrived at New York on the 23rd of April. She has brought home 97 passengers, and some despatches for government, but no specie. By her New York papers to the 1st inst., have been received, but we regret to say that up to the time of her departure nothing whatever was known of the President, although news had reached New York from Havannah, and other West India islands, to the 15th of April. In the House of Assembly for the State of New York an important debate upon the case of Mr. M'Leod had taken place on the 19th ult., on the motion of a Mr. Homann (a decided *Locofoco*) for the release of Mr. M'Leod, Mr. Homann holding it to be inconsistent with the national honour to continue Mr. M'Leod in prison after the government of Great Britain had taken the affair of the Caroline upon themselves. Mr. M'Leod, however, still continued in prison at the time the Great Western sailed, and nothing definitive was known of the negotiations between the United States government and that of Great Britain, nor would anything definitive be done in the matter until the extra session of Congress. It was, however, known that a good understanding subsisted between the organs of the two governments at Washington on the subject. Congress was to be convened on the 31st of May, and the eyes of the whole country it was said, would turn in anxious expectation on the first movements of the dominant party. The new President was going on well, and the impression was becoming gene-

ral that he would infuse into every branch of the public service a degree of energy and integrity that had not been seen since the early days of the republic, occupying, as he did, a position independent of all parties.

COLONIAL.

WEST INDIES.—The first April mail from the West Indies has arrived, with papers from Jamaica to the 31st March. The West India papers have never proved so barren of news; but we subjoin a scrap or two gathered here and there. Mr. Labouchere's equalization of the East and West India rum-duties is discussed in several of the journals; but with less acrimony or alarm than might have been expected. The subject of steam-navigation is attracting great interest in Jamaica and throughout the islands, as it is expected that the October mails will be carried out by the Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company.

INDIA.—From India, the news, though interesting, treats of no event of first-rate importance. The generally disordered state of some of the disturbed provinces had grown worse since the despatch of the last mail. An action is recorded in Scinde, in which the British suffered some loss, though they were successful in the issue. On the 20th February, a party under Colonel Wilson attacked a fort occupied by some refractory Kajuks, who refused to pay tribute to Shah Soojah. The British were repulsed: Lieutenant Falconer and Lieutenant Creed were killed on the spot, Colonel Wilson was mortally wounded, and fifty Sepoys were killed. Lieutenant Shaw was also severely wounded. The enemy evacuated the fort in the night. An engagement had also taken place between the troops of the Bengal establishment, composing Colonel Shelton's brigade and a tribe of the Khyberries, in which the latter were defeated. The particulars of this affair had not transpired; but there is no doubt of two European officers having been killed—Captain Douglas by a stray shot, and Lieutenant Pigou, of the Bengal Engineers, from the accidental explosion of some gunpowder. More troops were on the way to Scinde, but still more were required; and it is asked, "Whence are they to come?"

The government of Denmark is about to dispose of its East India settlements; which it is expected will fall into the hands of the East India Company. They consist of Serampore, in Bengal, and Tranquebar in the Southern Carnatic; and are small and unimportant colonies, the management of which has latterly been very unprofitable and troublesome to the Danish crown.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

Admiral Sir Charles Napier has come forward for Marylebone, in the event of a dissolution. He announces his politics in the following brief statement:—"I wish to see the vote by ballot become the law of the land. I wish the duration of parliament shortened; the corn-laws repealed; a liberal commercial policy adopted; and a general system of education established throughout the kingdom."

Anti-corn-law meetings have been held during the week in the following parishes of the metropolis:—Westminster, St. Saviour's Southwark, Camberwell, Bethnal Green, Tower Hamlets, Stratford-le-Bow, Greenwich, St. Marylebone, Wandsworth, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. Leonard's Shoreditch, Farringdon Within, Spitalfields, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, St. George Southwark, and Finsbury.

The annual meeting of the Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was held in the Great Room, Exeter Hall, on Wednesday evening, May 5. The Hall was filled in every part at an early hour. The platform was crowded with ministers and gentlemen from the metropolis, and various parts of the country, including the leading members of the two great Total Abstinence Societies, namely, the above society and the New British and Foreign Society. The president, the Right Hon. Earl Stanhope, took the chair.

The anniversary festival of the Caledonian Asylum was celebrated on Tuesday week, at the Freemasons' Tavern. The company assembled was larger than usual on similar occasions. Upwards of 180 gentlemen sat down to dinner; amongst whom were Colonel Sir Augustus D'Este, Commodore Sir Charles Napier, Sir James Clarke, Bart.; the Hon. C. Hope, M.P.; Charles Barclay, Esq. M.P.; Patrick Maxwell Stewart, Esq.; Captain Charles Forbes; George Forbes, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Cook, of Belfast; the Rev. Dr. Brown, &c. The Chisholm presided.

On Wednesday last the anniversary festival of the Printers' Pension Society took place at the London Tavern. The chair was taken by John Easthope, Esq. M.P. Amongst the company at the cross table were Mr. Richard Taylor, F.L.S., Mr. Sharpe, of the firm of Rogers, Olding, and Co., Mr. Besley, Mr. Figgins, jun., and many of the leading members of the profession.

The anniversary festival of the sons of the clergy was celebrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on Thursday, and in the evening there was a dinner at Merchant Tailor's Hall. The Lord Mayor presided, with Prince Albert on his right, and the Archbishop of Canterbury on his left; the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Chester, Bangor, and Worcester; the Marquis of Westminster, the Marquis of Downshire, Lord Melbourne, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Mr. Justice Patteson, Sir Robert Inglis, M.P., and Mr. George Byng, M.P. were present. Prince Albert returned thanks when his health was drunk.

On Thursday last the third annual meeting of the Catholic Institute took place at the Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen-street. A vast number of ladies graced the meeting by their presence, and appeared to take a great interest in the proceedings. Upon the platform were the following distinguished individuals:—Archbishop of Tripoli; Right Rev. Dr. Polding, vicar apostolic of New Holland; Right Rev. Dr. Clancy, vicar apostolic of British Guiana; Hon. Edward Petre; Hon. C. Langdale, M.P.; John Hersey, Esq.; Jos. Kiernan, Esq.; F. Chambers, Esq.; Charles Touneley, Esq.; Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; P. Howard, Esq., M.P.; C. Weld, Esq. The chair was taken by Lord Camoys. The report complained that in several of the workhouses obstacles were placed in the way of the catholic poor attending their places of divine worship, and the instruction of them in the principles of catholicism. The receipts of the year were 1,443*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*, exceeding those of the previous year by 421*l.* 19*s.* 0*d.*

The thirteenth anniversary of the Greville-street hospital was celebrated on Thursday, at the London Tavern. A greater number of the friends of the institution assembled than on any previous occasion. Lord Robert Grosvenor was in the chair, and was supported by Lord Bolton, Lord Carew, Sir S. Glynn, Major York Scarlett, M.P., Alston, Esq., M.P., Wilbraham, Esq., M.P., Captain De Saumanez, Rev. Dr. Rice, Dr. Graham. The report stated that the receipts for the year were 4,700*l.* During the last year 12,350 persons had received medical relief, and 1,300 extreme cases had been promptly attended to.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.—The friends of this noble institution will rejoice to learn, that the result of the examinations held at Somerset House, during the past year, is such, as to furnish, not only a proof of the efficiency of the instruction it communicates, but also of its vast superiority over kindred institutions. In the examination for the M.A., the only three gentlemen who obtained that honour were from this college! Of the thirty who went up for the B.A., twenty-one passed in the first division, of whom thirteen were from the University College, leaving eight for the other four colleges! Nine passed in the second division, of whom six were University students. Five from this college took honours, only one from the others! In the matriculation examination, sixty-nine presented themselves, forty of whom passed in the first division, viz., fourteen from University College, five from King's, and twenty-one from the other twelve. Of those who passed in the second division, twelve were University students. Besides this, one of two book prizes, ten of twelve gold medals, and 1040*l.* out of 1280*l.*, granted in the form of exhibitions and scholarship, have been carried off by the students of University College!

OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.—In our mention of the names of the gentlemen, whom it was said were appointed by the Lord Chancellor to inquire into bankruptcy matters in relation to the official assignees, we omitted the name of Wynn Ellis, Esq., M.P. We understand they met, merely at the request of Lord Cottingham, but there being no commission of inquiry they considered themselves powerless and broke up the meeting, under an impression, that her Majesty's commission was about to be sealed for the purpose of enabling them to proceed with due regularity.

In the Court of Exchequer, on Thursday, judgment was given for Mr. Sturge, in the action brought against him by Mr. Muntz, the late Mayor of Birmingham, as returning officer, for Mr. Sturge's share of the expenses of the last election. Mr. Sturge retired from the contest immediately after the nomination; and the question was, whether he could be considered as a candidate at the election. The court held that he could not.

The Lord Mayor held a wardmote on Friday, in the ward of Bassishaw, for the election of an alderman, in the room of alderman White, who has resigned; being disqualified through the insolvency of the house with which he was connected. Mr. Sheriff Farncombe was elected.

A deputation of the flint-glass manufacturers of the United Kingdom had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Thursday, in Downing-street, relative to the excise duty upon glass manufacture. Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd (late Colombian Engineer) transacted business on Thursday at the Colonial Office, previous to resuming the duties of her Majesty's Surveyor-General of Crown Lands and Engineer in Chief for Mauritius. The Spanish minister and Mr. J. A. Smith had interviews with Viscount Melbourne on Thursday in Downing-street. The Earl of Belfast, Mr. Noel, and Mr. Kennedy had interviews with the Marquis of Normanby on Thursday at the Home Office. Lord Lyttleton and Lieut.-Col. Doherty had interviews with Lord John Russell on Thursday at the Colonial Office. Mr. Scholefield and Mr. T. Attwood had an interview on Thursday with Viscount Melbourne in Downing-street.

Henry Hetherington, a prisoner in the Queen's Bench, complains of the indulgence shown to Lord Waldegrave in being permitted to promenade with his lady between the gates; and he asks whether he and his fellow prisoners are not entitled to a similar indulgence? He adds, that the "liberal" donations to the poor prisoners were confined to a solitary 2*s.* 6*d.* dropped into the poor-box by a gentleman who accompanied Lady Waldegrave when she first visited the prison.

There is a strange story abroad, relative to the outrage for which Lord Waldegrave and Captain Duff are now confined in the Queen's Bench. It is said that one of the parties could, without any difficulty, have proved an *alibi*, but that it could only have been done at the expense of a young aristocrat, whose *orthodox* prospects would have been endangered. The awkwardness of a possible exposure, it is said, was the real reason of a late resignation of a seat in the House of Commons.—*Globe*.

It is reported that the dress to be worn on the occasion of the Spitalfields ball by her royal highness the Duchess of Kent, is of so costly a fabric, that it has employed several operatives in the manufacture of it, night and day, for the last month. The arrangements for the forthcoming ball are of the most splendid description, and it is expected that the assemblage of rank and fashion will be most considerable. The Queen will appear in state.

PROVINCIAL.

In the event of a dissolution of parliament, it is the intention of J. Newton Wigney, Esq., again to offer himself as a candidate for the honour of representing this borough in parliament.—*Brighton Guardian*.

Captain Bulkeley has announced his determination of again contesting the borough of Windsor, in the conservative interest. Sir J. E. de Beauvoir, who contested the representation in 1837 in the liberal interest will again offer himself.

On Wednesday, the 12th inst., Mr. Bewes, one of the whig members for Plymouth, issued an address, stating, that he did not intend to solicit the representation of the town again. Among the candidates named, are—Mr. J. Johnson, Alderman of London, conservative; Mr. T. Gill, of Plymouth, whig; Mr. G. W. Soltau, a whig, but staunch opponent of the poor-law; Sir R. Lopez, conservative; and Mr. J. C. Bulteel.

We understand the Tories have resolved to bring forward Hodson Kearsley, Esq. and Mr. P. Greenall, as the candidates for Wigan, on the conservative side. The liberals have not yet decided upon who shall be colleague to Charles Standish, Esq. Public rumour has fixed upon Mr. William Brown, of Liverpool, but we cannot speak with certainty as to the report. *Bolton Free Press.*

Mr. George Rennie, jun., has announced himself as a candidate for the borough of Kidderminster, on liberal principles, in opposition to Mr. Godson.

A petition to the House of Commons has been sent from Nottingham, praying for an inquiry into the late election for that town. The petitioners say—"That at no former period since the passing of the reform bill has open, unblushing bribery been known to be so extensively practised; and seldom have drunkenness and excess been so generally prevalent, or violence and intimidation so alarmingly exhibited, as during the late election. Money has been given for votes, by both parties, as openly as though it were the legal means of obtaining a seat in parliament; and not only the poor and necessitous, but even the superior class of artisans, and many small tradesmen, have converted the elective franchise into a marketable commodity. Sums varying from five to fifteen pounds have been bargained for and paid for single votes."

Anti-corn law meetings have been held, and petitions got up, during the week at Kendal, Bolton, Bury, Norwich, Leicester, Birmingham, Blackburn, Stourbridge, Newcastle, Sunderland, Fenton, Staffordshire, Cheadle, Southampton, Acton, Mostyn, Caernarvon, Flint, Hastings, Sheffield, Preston, Kirkby Lonsdale, Devonport, Dover, Folkestone, Reading, Portsea.

Mr. Acland's successful labours in Buckinghamshire have aroused the dormant spirit of the inhabitants, who are now just awaking to a proper sense of what is their right, and what is their proper interest. This "pattern county" can no longer be said to be "conservative of the corn law from end to end." This the Duke of Buckingham feels, and that energetic defender of the "agricultural interest" (meaning the landlord's interest) is now, through his grace's agents, moving heaven and earth to counteract the influence of Mr. Acland's lectures. *Aylesbury News.*

The petition against the corn-laws, got up in Bradford within the last fortnight, has been sent for presentation—17,580 signatures were attached to it.

An instance of the feeling in Lancashire against the corn-laws was given on Thursday last, when two gentlemen appointed by the league, went to collect subscriptions in Ashton-under-Lyne, Staley-bridge, Dukinfield, Godley, and Hyde. They called without distinction on whig and tory, and in that one day obtained subscriptions to the amount of sixteen hundred and fifty pounds! They had not a single refusal, but on the contrary, all political parties bade them "God speed."

An extraordinary sensation and panic was felt in Whitby on Monday week by the closing of the banking establishment of Messrs. Campion, in Church-street. The parties in this old established and well-known firm, are not only bankers, but ship-builders, ship owners, manufacturers, and very largely connected with the trade of the port. *York Courant.*

Considerable excitement has been occasioned in this town, by the discovery that Mr. James Mann, wool-dealer and agent, Norwich, once resident and well known in Bradford, was missing, and that various bills were falling due, purporting to be accepted by several Bradford houses, amounting, so far as is yet known, to from 15,000l. to 20,000l., the whole of the acceptances being forgeries. The East of England bank is likely to suffer to the extent of 10,000l., and a private individual in the silk trade to 4 or 5,000l. *Bradford Observer.*

IRELAND.

A meeting of the friends of the ministry was held at the Commercial-buildings, Dublin, on Tuesday week, the Hon. Fred. Ponsonby in the chair, for the purpose of adopting the following resolution, which was agreed to at a meeting on Monday, Lord Charlemont presiding:—"That a meeting of reformers be held to address the Queen, praying her to continue in her councils her present ministers, and earnestly entreating her Majesty not to intrust the government of the country to the tory party, who have always proved themselves the enemies of the rights and liberties of the people." *CHARLEMONT, chairman.*

A very crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held at Dublin on Friday last, to address her Majesty on the present position of affairs, the Earl of Charlemont in the chair. The speakers were the hon. F. Ponsonby, Mr. Lethbridge, Mr. Colles, J. Power, Esq., Sir Percy Nugent, Mr. J. O'Neill, Mr. Hatchell, Mr. Ross, Mr. D'Arcy, Mr. D. O'Reilly, Mr. Arabin, Mr. Steele, A. McCarthy, Esq., &c.

Lord Caledon has been chosen as the Peer to sit in the House of Lords in succession to the late Earl of Rosse.

The *Dublin Monitor* states that Mr. Thomas Welsh, of the Irish bar, has been appointed Attorney-General of Van Dieman's Land.

The *Kilkenny Journal* states, there are already eight candidates in the field desirous of contesting the representation of the seat now filled by Mr. Joseph Hume.

It is stated by a Cork paper, that Mr. Beamish has written to his constituents, announcing that, in the event of a dissolution, it is not his intention to again offer himself for the city of Cork.

In the event of a majority against ministers on Lord Sandon's resolution, there will be a dissolution—of that Emerson Tennent may rest satisfied, and so may Sergeant Jackson, and so, we can assure him, may Colonel Bruen. We deliberately state our conviction—founded upon data which we need not now put forth—that the whigs will obtain a considerable accession of strength in Ireland. *Dublin Evening Post.*

On the 6th instant Edward Lyttle and Thomas Moore, of Redhills, were attacked within a mile of Redhills, parish of Anna, and county of Cavan, by four men, who beat them so severely that Lyttle died in three hours afterwards, and Moore lies dangerously ill.

On Saturday se'nnight two young men, servants to Mr. Healy, of Garryduff, county of Kilkenny, slept in the same bed at that gentleman's house. On Sunday morning one of them went out and brought in a shovel, with which he murdered his unfortunate fellow-servant as he lay in bed. Some dispute about a young woman is said to have been the cause of the horrid deed. On Monday the murderer was fully committed to Kilkenny gaol.

On Friday evening a general meeting of repealers was held at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand. The large room was nearly full. The meeting was addressed by the chairman (E. W. O. Mahony, Esq.), Mr. Hogan, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Dillon Brown, Mr. J. S. O'Gorman, Mr. McLeod, Mr. O'Neill Daunt, and Mr. O'Connell. Mr. O'Connell said he had promised a gentleman at the great anti-slavery meeting in the morning, that if he would cease his reiterated and determined efforts to interrupt its proceedings, he would obtain a hearing for him at the repeal meeting in the evening. He trusted the meeting would enable him to fulfil his promise [hear, hear, and cries of "yes, yes"]. Mr. Martin, of Birmingham, the individual alluded to, then addressed the meeting for above an hour, in the course of which he made several charges against Mr. O'Connell. This attack elicited from the hon. and learned gentleman a burst of eloquent and patriotic indignation. So powerful was its effect on the passions of the assembly that a poor chartist who had joined in the attack was set upon, and had it not been for Mr. O'Connell's prompt interference, serious consequences might have ensued.

SCOTLAND.

It is reported, that the county and burghs of Forfarshire will be contested for at the next election. The Hon. Lauderdale Maule is to oppose the Hon. D. G. Halliburton, M.P. for the county; George Kinloch, Esq. "of that ilk," is to endeavour to take the place of Sir H. Parnell, the sitting member for Dundee; and a gentleman from London is to contest the burghs of Montrose, Arbroath, &c., with P. Chalmers, Esq. of Auldbar, the present M.P. All the parties are said to be liberal in politics. *Aberdeen Constitutional.*

An anti-corn-law meeting was held at the Assembly Rooms, Edinburgh, on Monday, May 10, Mr. Adam Black was proposed as chairman by the party calling the meeting, but the chartists and radicals who mustered in great numbers, succeeded in carrying Mr. Watson, one of their own body, as chairman. A resolution was then proposed condemning the whole policy of the whig ministry, as marked by equal imbecility and duplicity, and declaring that they had justly forfeited the confidence of the country. An amendment was moved by Mr. Crawford, one of the whig party, recommending a total repeal of the corn laws, and expressing satisfaction that her Majesty's ministers had at length undertaken their revision. The original resolution was carried by a large majority and the meeting dispersed. The ministerial party afterwards held a meeting in the anti-room, Mr. Adam Black in the chair, when resolutions and a petition in favor of the ministerial plan was unanimously adopted.

A general meeting of the Edinburgh chamber of commerce, was held in their hall on Tuesday se'nnight, Archibald Thomson, Esq., in the chair—when Mr. J. F. Macfarlan submitted a set of resolutions on the subject of the corn laws, approving of the proposals of government as a step towards their total abolition. Mr. M. introduced the resolutions in a speech of some length, in which he showed the evils that had arisen from the present system, and the necessity and safety of such a change. Dr. Thomas Murray seconded the resolutions, which, after some remarks by Mr. Robert Thomson as to the danger of total abolition, were unanimously agreed to. The meeting also adopted a proposal by Mr. Macfarlan, approving of the proposals of government for a reduction of the import duties; and petitions for a total abolition of the corn laws, were directed to be forwarded to both houses of parliament.

Anti-corn-law meetings have been held at Leith, Dundee, Stirling, Queensferry, Penicuik, Falkirk, and Earlston.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

DREADFUL COLLISION AT SEA.—On the night of Sunday, May 9, the two vessels, the *Brooklyn*, Captain Richardson, outward bound from Liverpool to New York, and the *Mary Scott*, inward bound from Valparaiso, to Liverpool, with a valuable cargo of copper ore, and 120,000 dollars in specie, came in contact off Point Lynas. The masters of the vessels each attribute the cause of the accident to the other captain. Richardson reports that he had a light on deck, and that had the master of the unknown vessel ported his helm, the collision would have been avoided, whilst the mate of the *Mary Scott* states that the brig was close-hauled on the starboard tack, and was just about to alter her course, when the crew saw the *Brooklyn* running down free with topgallant sails set. The brig had two lights on the weather bulwark, just abaft the main rigging, one of them being a regular signal light. The carpenter was steering, and the mate told him to put the helm hard up, which was done. He got on the bulwarks, and called to the *Brooklyn* people for God's sake to keep their luff, otherwise the brig would be run down; but they took no notice, and the *Brooklyn*, which was going at the rate of about seven knots an hour, struck the brig just where the lights were on the starboard side, and passed on without offering any assistance. The crew consisted of the captain, the mate, eleven men, and two boys; the mate with six of the crew succeeded in getting into the jolly-boat which dropped astern, and in a minute or two afterwards the ship went down, with the captain and the remainder of the crew on board. After twenty-four hours' exposure to a continual rain, with scarcely any clothing, and no food or water, the seven men in the boat were picked up by some fishermen off the Isle of Man.

A lucifer manufactory, belonging to Mr. Parsons, situate in George-street, Spitalfields, yesterday caught fire and was not extinguished until the manufactory was completely burnt to the ground. Several adjoining houses were damaged. Mrs. Parsons had a most miraculous escape. She was in bed recovering from her accouchment, which took place on Saturday last, and was only rescued by her husband, who rushed to where she was, snatched her in his arms with the child, and ran into the street, but not before he was much burnt, and she also, about the face and hands.

LOSS OF THE SHIP WILLIAM BROWN.—Much excitement prevailed at Havre on Monday, May 10, in consequence of a report that the *Louis Philippe*, New York packet ship had arrived with some shipwrecked seamen on board, belonging to the *President*. This, however, proved incorrect; the men belonged to the *William Brown*, an American vessel, bound from Liverpool to Philadelphia. The following particulars are from a statement drawn up by some of the survivors, and remitted to Captain Ball, of the *Crescent*:—the ship was of Philadelphia; her company consisted of seventeen persons, and she had sixty-five steerage passengers, nearly all Irish, with a full cargo on board. She had had a rough passage out, and struck against a field of ice at nine P.M., when going under all sails at the rate of ten knots an hour, in lat. 43 deg. 40 min. north, and long. 43 deg. 39 min. west, by account. She stove in her larboard bow, and within two minutes struck another field of ice. The ship soon began to fill, and the captain and crew got out the boats, which were cleared away at eleven. At midnight the ship went down, and the thirty passengers, who could not be taken into the boats, were drowned in her. The boats lay by each other till five A.M., when the captain in the cutter steered for Newfoundland. The long boat being very heavily laden with so many persons, forty-two in all, could not be managed, and was obliged to steer to the south. At night she fell in with more ice, and the wind came on to blow hard; the boat began to leak badly, and shipped a good deal of water. Finding she was likely to sink, the mate consulted with the crew, and it was deemed necessary to throw overboard such of the passengers as were nearly dead. Sixteen were then thrown into the sea, and perished; while the rest were nearly stiff with the extreme cold. Shortly after a ship hove in sight, and the captain, who was up aloft looking out for ice, saw the boat, and stood for her at the imminent risk of his own safety. This proved to be the *Crescent*, and they were received with the greatest humanity and kindness on board. At that time ice was in sight on the surface of the Atlantic as far as the eye could reach. Out of the passengers saved, ten were women.

The ship *Crescent* arrived at Havre on Thursday last with the remainder of the passengers who were saved in the long boat. From them the following additional particulars are gathered. Of the sixteen passengers who were thrown into the sea, fourteen were men, and two women; of the seventeen saved, fifteen are women, and two are men. One of these men was seized for the purpose of being thrown overboard by the crew of the boat. He cried out to the mate to save him, and not to tear him from his wife. The mate told the men not to separate man and wife if it were possible to help it. He fell into the bottom of the boat, and was saved. A boy of twelve years old was thrown overboard. He caught hold of the boat, and, favoured by the darkness of the night, crouched under the bows, and was saved. All the women saved are young, except the mother of a Scotch family from Dumfriesshire, who, with her five daughters and a servant girl was saved,—her name is Edgar. Her husband and son are settled in German Town, near Philadelphia. A young woman with her infant at the breast succeeded in getting into the boat with her husband. One family of the name of Leyden (sixteen in all) sunk with the vessel; another, named Corr—the father, mother, and five children—sunk at the same time; the little boy who was thrown from the boat was one of that family. He had not a soul left belonging to him. They were from Colonel Stewart's property. A Mrs. Anderson, with three children, who was going to join her husband, a medical gentleman settled at Cincinnati, sunk with the ship. Miss Anderson and a Miss Bradley were thrown into the sea from the long-boat. The crew and passengers have been examined by the British and American consuls and the impression is, that the dreadful act of throwing their fellow-creatures overboard was of imperious necessity.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.—About 25 minutes to 1 o'clock on Monday morning, the coo-perage of Mr. Bryant, in Cross-street, Blackfriars, was discovered to be on fire, and in less than 10 minutes the whole building was one mass of flame, and the greatest fears were entertained for the safety of the houses on the left hand side of the street. By the united exertions of the firemen, assisted by a good supply of water, the flames were confined to Mr. Bryant's premises.

Intelligence arrived at the different insurance offices in the metropolis, on Saturday, of a terrific fire having occurred on the morning of Wednesday last, in the quiet village of Stoke Cannon, situate a few miles from Exeter, and which occasioned the total destruction of 15 houses, the dwellings of 46 poor labouring families.

Saturday last the village of Repton and its neighbourhood was visited by a violent thunderstorm which lasted for upwards of half an hour with unabated fury, accompanied with rain which fell in torrents. The electric fluid fell in a field near the Hays-house, and killed six sheep, the property of Wm. Beresford, Esq., and injured a seventh. A labourer not far from the spot was also knocked down by the shock, but escaped without further injury.

ACCIDENT IN THE LONDON DOCKS.—Yesterday week, a boy named Robert Ryder, employed in "sculling" a boat, was standing on the thwart with the oar in a rowlock aft, when the oar slipped out of its place, and the lad was precipitated head foremost into the water, and sank. Five minutes elapsed before the body was found, and on being brought to the surface of the water it slipped from the grapples and again sank. The body was soon recovered again, and removed to Wapping workhouse near the dock. The boy was then apparently dead, but he was instantly stripped and put into a warm bath. Mr. Bloomfield, of High-street, Wapping, arrived directly afterwards, and commenced applying the usual remedies to restore animation, in which he was ably assisted by the master of the workhouse and his wife, who never relaxed, and friction was constantly kept up. An hour and a half elapsed when Mr. Bloomfield and his assistants had the gratification of perceiving signs of returning life. Their exertions were continued, and the lad was saved. The greatest praise is due to all the parties for their humanity and perseverance.

FATAL ACCIDENT.—On Tuesday a poor man named Thomas Sharp, carter to Mr. John Gibbs, of Evesham, was returning home with an empty waggon, when, as they were passing the Swan Inn, Bengeworth, the horses took fright, and in endeavouring to stop them, poor Sharp was knocked down; both wheels passed over his body about his waist, and he was killed almost immediately.

An inquest was held at the London Hospital, on Thursday last, on the body of John Jones, a boiler maker. It appeared that he was engaged with several other workmen on board of her Majesty's steamship *Vulcan*, lying in the river off Messrs. Seaward's factory, repairing the paddle-wheels. In attempting to move the paddle-wheel by all pressing on it, it threw the whole of them into the river. Assistance being at hand, they were picked up unhurt, excepting the deceased, who was bleeding profusely from a dreadful wound on the left arm, supposed to have been occasioned by some portion of the iron work belonging to the wheel. He was immediately conveyed to the hospital, where he died.

COACH ACCIDENT.—Last week a passenger by the "Union" coach between Stalybridge and Manchester, in endeavouring to get over the roof while in a state of intoxication, fell, and broke his neck.

STOKER KILLED ON THE RAILWAY.—On Wednesday last, as the luggage-train from Leeds was proceeding to Derby, when near Duffield the stoker of the first engine stopped to adjust a chain, and his foot slipping he fell between the rails. The ash-pan of the second engine completely severed the head of the unfortunate man, who was killed on the spot.—*Sheffield Mercury*.

On Saturday night, an inquest was held at the Sun, on Shooter's-hill-road, on view of the body of John Revell, aged 46, who lost his life on Thursday last. He was digging gravel in Frost's pit on Blackheath; and had undermined a shelving to a considerable extent, and as symptoms of a slip were indicated, the workmen on the spot retreated, with the exception of the unfortunate deceased, who was buried alive under a mass of 20 tons of gravel. A second man had a narrow escape, who, in running from the falling mass, was buried up to the middle, but fortunately only received some slight bruises.

INQUEST ON MRS. JENNER.—This unfortunate lady, who was, on the morning of Tuesday fortnight, shot at by her husband, lingered until the evening of Friday last, when she died of the wound she had received. The inquest took place on Monday afternoon. The evidence given before the coroner on Monday was substantially the same as that given on the former examinations. The jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against Mr. William Jenner, now in custody on a charge of having killed his son.

On Wednesday last, a coroner's inquest was held at Dover, on the body of Miss Anna Maria Jenkins, aged 28, the sister of Lieutenant Jenkins, R.N., who came by her death, from taking laudanum, in a fit of insanity, caused by her having lately lost both her father and mother, and her having formed an attachment in Scotland, of which her family disapproved.

POISONING A FAMILY.—The family of Mr. Joseph Powell, farmer, of Edmonton, have within the last few days miraculously escaped death by poison. The particulars are as follows:—Mrs. Powell has been accustomed to take for supper a basin of new milk boiled. This was brought to her by the servant on Tuesday night. She took a spoonful or two, and complained that the taste was disagreeable, and that it made her feel sick. Her two sons each tasted it. They then called in the girl, and desired her to do the same, but she manifested great reluctance, and said that she had had her supper, and had no wish for anything more. The mistress and her sons then said, "If you do not taste a spoonful or two we shall think you have put something bad in it;" upon this she took a portion, when they all became ill, being seized with violent retching, and complaining of burning pain in the throat and stomach. A medical man was immediately sent for, and partial relief was afforded, but the life of Mrs. Powell is considered in much danger; she is unable to leave her bed. The servant girl, also, is in a precarious state. The basin containing the milk has been preserved, and found to contain arsenic, as well as the pan from whence it was taken. The girl is too ill yet to give any testimony.

On Friday a most determined act of self-destruction was committed by a married woman, named Hannah Linted, residing in Westminster. About eight o'clock, a lodger, named Mary Pearson, went to the water-tank to draw some water for breakfast, when, perceiving a chair placed close to it, and suspecting something wrong, she got upon it and looked into the water-tank, and there saw the deceased sitting at the bottom of the tank, the water barely covering her head. When got out she was cold and lifeless. It is conjectured the unfortunate woman got up about six o'clock, went into the back kitchen, and got into the tank and deliberately sat there until she was suffocated.

EXECUTION OF THE CROSSHILL MURDERERS.—Dennis Doolan and Patrick Redding, were executed on Friday morning at Crosshill, about three miles north of Glasgow, for the murder of John Green, ganger upon the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway. The two men were conveyed to the place of execution in a cart, under a strong escort of cavalry and infantry. The crowd present was calculated to amount to about fifty thousand. In addition to a large police force there were upon the ground two pieces of artillery, nearly six hundred men belonging to the 58th regiment of foot, and four troops of the 1st Royal Dragoons. Before they were executed they made an ample confession of their guilt to Bishop Murdoch; but protested they did not at first mean to murder the unfortunate Mr. Green, but only to give him a beating. They acknowledged the justice of their sentence, and craved forgiveness of all mankind.—*Glasgow Chronicle*.

BRUTAL FIGHT, AND DEATH OF ONE OF THE COMBATANTS.—On Saturday night, about ten o'clock, a lot of fellows met together at the White Horse beer-shop, at Chelsea New Town, near Leighton Buzzard, and, after drinking for a considerable period, went into the fields and got up a fight between John Butcher, a shoemaker, and James Webster, a bricklayer, of Leighton Buzzard. The disgraceful scene was carried on till two o'clock on Sunday morning, when Butcher hit his antagonist a fatal blow, which caused his death. An inquest was held on the body, and the jury returned a verdict of "manslaughter against John Butcher principal, and against Joseph Hodges and William Webster for aiding, abetting, and assisting." The prisoners were apprehended and conveyed to Bedford gaol.

There are at present in the docks six vessels loading for New Zealand, and thirty-six for Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales; for Madras, Calcutta, Ceylon, Bombay, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope, fifty-one.

LITERATURE.

The Arguments of Churchmen Reviewed, and the Evils of a Religious Establishment Exposed. By JAMES GREGORY, Minister of Kippin, Thornton, Yorkshire. London: Simpkin and Co.

A FEW months since Mr. Gregory published a well-written tract, entitled "The Claims of Dissent and the Church of England Examined, in reply to the Lectures of the Rev. G. Thomas, B.A." on "National Duties in Connexion with Religion." This gentleman, notwithstanding the complete refutation of all the arguments, and the exposure of all the sophistry of his "Lectures," by Mr. G., has again come forward in defence of the establishment, in a tract entitled "Remarks on the Principles of the Established Church, as compared with those of Dissent." Though this is not professedly an answer to Mr. Gregory's "Claims," yet there can be little doubt that it is intended to be so; at least that this is one purpose for which it was published. And we cannot better describe its spirit and character than by giving our readers a short quotation from Mr. G.'s "Arguments."

"He complains of nothing scurrilous and vulgar in the remarks of his opponent; but whatever may be said to the contrary, they are evidently the offspring of deep-rooted disaffection to dissent. Throughout there is preserved a sort of suppressed sullen feeling, which occasionally breaks through its concealment, as a brand from the smouldering ashes. Acting as a dominant and an imperious party are prone to do (though not very dominant, *de facto*, at Thornton), their leader claims an extensive and legalized privilege of printing and publishing his own religious peculiarities, and of indulging freely in censures on other religious parties—and all this without any provocation whatever; and indeed while kind and friendly feelings were encouraged by dissenters towards him. But no sooner do the accused party put forth a calm reply and respectful vindication of their conduct than they are reproached for their temerity; and most unjustly is it recorded, 'No clergyman shall, on pain of incurring the severest displeasure of dissenters, counsel the people to submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, &c.'"

In a preceding paragraph Mr. G. asserts, and we believe quite earnestly:—

While Mr. T.'s remarks "abound with bold assumptions, with illogical and inconclusive reasoning, and with not a few historical and statistical inaccuracies, it maintains on the question of reply a mystic silence well comports with the mystic efficacy of that system of which it is an attempted defence."

While it is quite a *ruse de guerre* amongst churchmen often to treat dissent and its advocates as unworthy of their notice; nay, as if it were in fact, beneath the dignity of the champions of an establishment to recognize the existence of either this schism or its adherents, yet they cannot avoid betraying a soreness and littleness of spirit, which plainly indicate, that they have been reached, and are galled by the arrows of truth, and that they cannot avoid feeling that dissenters are after all, no contemptible antagonists. No small degree of this feeling has evidently been experienced by the author of the "remarks;" and we do not wonder at this, for he must have been sensible that he has met, in the advocate of dissent, with more than his equal in mental ability and skill, and in the art of handling the weapons of truth and argument. Mr. Gregory has rendered an important service to the cause of religion in general, and to the interests of dissent in particular, by the two pamphlets which he has been led by circumstances, and by what he conceived, and we think rightly, to be the calls of duty to write and publish. That to which this article relates, is characterised by close, patient, and vigorous thought, conclusive reasoning, and extensive reading on the subject under consideration, and much valuable statistical information. In the first part of his pamphlet Mr. G. shows—1. That the motives and purposes of dissenters in opposing the establishment are very much misrepresented. 2. He examines his local facts and statistical details. 3. He considers the mode in which churchmen treat the arguments of dissenters.

In the second part which exposes the inevitable evils of a religious establishment, he proves—1. That a religious establishment gives to all its members and ministers an unreal and conventional importance. 2. That it is a serious hinderance to the discussion and free circulation of truth. 3. That many portions of the church service are highly objectionable, and have an injurious influence on the minds of her ministers. 4. That a religious establishment destroys the broad and scriptural distinction between the church and the world. 5. That the extensive system of patronage in the national church prevents the possibility of her purity. 6. That a religious establishment has an extensive and unwarrantable power of persecution. (He might have said, that it involves the principles of persecution in its very existence, and, there can be no warrantable power of persecution.) 7. He adduces the testimony of churchmen themselves, in proof of the existing evils of an establishment.

The third part consists of practical remarks addressed to dissenters. In this Mr. G.—1. Urges them to form juster and sounder views of their own principles. 2. He shows them that they have many inducements to understand and value their principles. 3. That it is incumbent on them to seek the maintenance and extension of their principles in the spirit of the gospel.

All these topics are illustrated in a way calculated to interest and profit. The pamphlet is well calculated for both local and general purposes and usefulness. We conscientiously and earnestly recommend it to all our readers, and especially to the members of voluntary church societies.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *Analysis of the Discussion between J. Mortlock Daniell and Frederic R. Lees, on the Accordance of Tee-totalism with Science and Scripture.* Leeds: S. Jowett. London: Pascoe, Paternoster Row.
2. *The Best Pew in the Church.* By One who sits in it. A Tract for the Times. London: L. and G. Seeley, 169, Fleet Street. 1841.

3. *The Arguments of Churchmen Reviewed, and the Evils of a Religious Establishment Exposed.* By JAMES GREGORY, Minister of Kippin, Thornton, Yorkshire. Bradford: John Dale. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1841.
4. *Slavery and the Slave Trade in British India, with Notices of the Existence of these Evils in the Islands of Ceylon, Malacca, and Penang, drawn from Official Documents.* London: Ward and Co., Paternoster Row, 4841.
5. *Letter to the Hon. Henry Clay, President of the American Colonization Society, and Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Chairman of the General Committee of the African Civilization Society, on the Colonization and Civilization of Africa. With other Documents on the same Subject.* By R. R. GURLEY. London: Wiley and Putnam, Stationer's Hall Court, 1841.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

The anniversary meeting of the Sunday-school Union was held at Exeter Hall, on Thursday the 6th instant, John Labouchere, Esq., in the chair. The spacious room was crowded to excess and numbers went away unable to obtain admittance. The report detailed the society's operations in Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Corfu, Africa, India, Ceylon, Van Dieman's Land, West Indies, Antigua, Anguilla, Tortola, Jamaica, America, Nova Scotia, and Canada. With regard to home proceedings, it is stated that grants had been made during the past year, in aid of the expenses of erecting Sunday-school rooms, amounting to 470*l*. The number of libraries granted this year, had been 135, making a total of 733. The loss which the society had sustained by these grants during the year amounted to 272*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. The cash and book grants amounted to 358*l*. 7*s*. The numbers connected with the Union within five miles of the General Post-office, were 481 schools, 8,811 teachers, and 86,331 children. During the last year the Committee had undertaken the sale of Bibles and Testaments at the Depository. They had had the Bibles bound in a variety of forms, but they strongly recommended the Pearl Bible, bound in calf, and sold at 2*s*. 3*d*. as the most useful for Sunday scholars generally. The sales at the depository during the last year amounted to 9,140*l*. 3*s*. 10*d*. The donations received amounted to 164*l*. 17*s*. The whole income of the Union during the year, applicable to benevolent purposes, had been 1,677*l*. 8*s*. 3*d*., while the expenditure (including some grants not yet paid amounted to 1,829*l*. 14*s*. 9*d*.) leaving a deficiency of 152*l*. 6*s*. 6*d*. Lectures had been delivered on various subjects connected with education. Forty-five new members had been admitted. The present number of subscribers was 165, being a clear increase of 23. Several excellent speeches were delivered which we regret the crowded state of our columns prevents us from reporting. Dr. Bennett moved, and Rev. J. H. Hinton, seconded the printing of the report, and the following resolutions were passed, after addresses from the Rev. J. Sherman, the Rev. T. Archer, Rev. J. Aldis, Rev. T. Smith of Sheffield, Dr. Campbell, and the Rev. J. Blackburn:—

"That the circumstances of the present period render it incumbent upon all Christians, and upon Sunday-school teachers especially, to uphold the supreme authority of the sacred scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice—that this meeting, therefore, rejoices that, in consequence of the reduction of price, the means of obtaining copies of the scriptures will be placed within the reach of the great majority of Sunday scholars, and cordially approves of the measures adopted by the committee in consequence of such reduction. That the extension of general education throughout the country renders an improved mode of instruction necessary in Sunday-schools, and calls upon teachers to seek the improvement of their own minds that they may be enabled more effectually to impart to their scholars those truths upon which alone their hopes for time and for eternity can be safely placed."

EVANGELICAL VOLUNTARY CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

A public breakfast of the friends of this Association was held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, on Saturday, the 15th inst. The attendance was very numerous and of the highest respectability. Sir Cullen Eardly Smith, Bart., presided on the occasion. At the cross table we observed the Rev. Drs. Campbell, Leifchild, and Matheson, Messrs. Binney, Jenkyn, Freeman, Aldis, Green, Young, &c., &c.

The repast being over,

The CHAIRMAN rose and said, that the cause which had brought them together, looking at it in a Christian point of view, was in this country an incipient cause; but knowing that it was identified with the consciences of those whom he saw before him, and that there were hundreds of thousands praying for its success, he entertained the most hallowed anticipations of its triumph. (Cheers.) It was an encouraging fact at the present moment, when they saw the social effervescence existing in this country, that whatever disappointments might happen in political affairs, the man who had put his hand to the cause of God would ultimately realize the object he sought. (Hear, hear.) He believed that the cause they were now met to promote was closely identified with that of their Divine Master. The following considerations led him to that belief. The object for which they were convened was founded upon the principles laid down in the New Testament with regard to the constitution, character, and duty of Christian churches. There might be a doubt as to what was the specific aid which civil governments should afford religion; but those who took the New Testament for their guide, would find rules laid down for the government of the church which it was impossible for established churches to carry out. (Hear, hear.) It had often been astounding to him that members of the established church could be so blind as not to see the stream of evidence pervading the New Testament as to the characters of those who constituted the members of the church of Christ. No man ought to be knowingly and wilfully admitted a member of that church who was not manifestly a follower of the Lord Jesus Christ. (Hear, hear.) It was true that hypocrites might be found in the church, but that was a totally different thing from tolerated inconsistency. (Cheers.) The church never could obey the statutory obligations laid upon it by the Lord Jesus Christ, so long as it was subject to the statutory control of the law of the land. (Cheers.) There was another point which he should be glad to impress on the minds of all them present. The existence of an establishment necessarily generated feelings of alienation, hostility

and discord. There might be faults arising from asperity on both sides, but an establishment must necessarily generate feelings utterly inconsistent with the character of a Christian church. (Hear, hear.) If a converted South Sea islander, visiting this country, were to observe the refusal of churchmen to enter the places of worship of other ministers of the gospel, and that they could live together in the same town for years without any association, so far from concluding that the religion they mutually professed was the religion of Christ, he would draw a directly contrary inference. (Hear, hear.) He would have those who were willing to test, whether establishments produced a right feeling of mind go to the walls and doors of Leicester gaol (hear, hear), and there come to an impartial decision. Could that be a right exposition of the religion of Christ which marshalled one set of Christians against another; and which immured a man within the walls of a prison for obeying the dictates of his conscience. (Hear, hear, hear.) He was not there to discuss, for the rules of the Association forbade it, whether civil injustice was thus committed, but he might be allowed to say, that it was impossible that a religious evil could take place without civil injustice following. (Cheers.) As establishments thus militated against the diffusion of pure religion, they had cause for gratitude that events were bringing about that consummation to which that principle so distinctly pointed. (Cheers.) He believed that the events now transpiring in Scotland were tending to effect a separation of Church and State in that country (cheers); and that if the iniquities now existing in the church of England were allowed to continue, that church must fall to the ground. (Hear, hear.) Truth would assuredly prevail, and he trusted that the time was not far distant, when all who loved the Saviour would stand on the same footing in the laws of their country; and when the only rivalry would be, who should be most engaged in enlightening the church, and who should be doing most for the extension of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. J. ALDIS then rose, and said, that in considering the cause which had assembled that meeting, it was to him painful to observe how very little men were generally influenced by reason or truth, and how much even of the good which was actually done resulted from that which was unworthy, exaggerated, or absolutely false. The Reformation was based rather upon the extravagances and licentiousness of the clergy, than upon high moral and religious principles. It was not the master-intellect and the pure hearts of such men as Milton which gave energy to the civil wars, so much as it was the fanaticism of the fifth-monarchy men of those times. Even amongst those who thought most on one important subject, a home stroke of wit, or even temporary passion, often produced greater results than the eternal verities of morality and religion. Men generally little heeded what mischief was done, so that it did not injure themselves. The conduct of some was determined by indolence; that of others by the wish to avoid a frown. Taking all these things into account, it clearly followed, that wherever they had to deal only with men's consciences and understandings, they should be prepared for a protracted and ardent struggle, and consent to endure with a long-suffering, resembling that of the Deity, the injuries, the calumnies, the cowardice, the supineness, and the treachery of mankind. (Hear, hear.) Nor did this in the least affect the duty of those who were engaged in any great cause; it only tended to exalt their motives—it only taught them to labour simply for conscience' sake. (Cheers.) The great evil was, that men, by failing to recognise the presence of God in the midst of their moral struggles, deprived themselves of that support which the consciousness of His presence must naturally and necessarily afford. (Hear, hear.) He (the Rev. J. Aldis) had the greatest confidence in the final success of the cause which they were then met to promote. Although they could not urge things onward to a final consummation, the time would come when it would be demonstrated to all nations that religion was not a thing of national form or of national function, but of individual obedience, faith, and purity. They were told, indeed, that their governors would be worse than heathen governors if they did not support religion. The conclusion was strange, the premises equally so. The conclusion was this, that the same means which were resorted to in one country to support a lie, men must adopt in another to support the truth. It was an insult to Religion, to say that she could not stand by herself; and he called upon the meeting to come forward and vindicate her immortal strength. (Cheers.) He remembered the tears, the agonies, and the prayers of the Church; and would never believe that He who had witnessed them all, would allow them to pass away without making that Church to triumph. He remembered the songs of seers, the blood of martyrs, and, above all, of Him who had offered up an all-perfect sacrifice, and who said, "My kingdom is not of this world, therefore do not my servants fight."—Who, by the shedding of his own blood, intended to take possession of the nations, and redeem and renovate them as his own; nor did he believe that that Being could be ultimately disappointed, who had declared that he would trample under foot all that opposed itself to his progress. Let them all lift an imploring voice to Heaven, saying, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done"—not as it is on earth, by cruelty and violence, but "as it is in Heaven," spontaneously. (Cheers.)

W. A. HANKEY, Esq., next addressed the meeting. He said, the question which they were then met to promote, was a question within the citadel of their holy religion; and they must all be prepared to bear cheerfully any obloquy which might attach to them in the promotion of such a cause. That God could be worshipped aright only by the voluntary services of his people, he considered as entering into the very elements of the Christian dispensation, as included in that fundamental and important declaration of the Saviour himself before the bar of the Roman judge—"My kingdom is not of this world." (Hear, hear.) Their principle was an imperishable one, and having taken their stand on the high ground of truth, the gates of hell, however sanctioned by political power, would not be suffered to prevail against it. (Cheers.)

The Rev. JOHN KELLY, of Liverpool, then addressed the meeting at considerable length. He had thought, on entering that room, how different were their circumstances at that moment from the state of things two hundred years ago; met, as they then were, to advocate principles which must prove destructive of the present condition

of the established church. (Hear.) Had such an assembly been convened two hundred years ago, it would have been at the peril of every individual who had dared to attend it. (Hear, hear.) Let them be thankful for their privileges, and improve them by labouring diligently to accomplish the great object before them. (Cheers.) He was happy to inform the meeting that institutions similar to that, had been established in Liverpool, Manchester, and Bradford; to which lectures had been frequently delivered by powerful advocates of the voluntary principle. (Cheers.) The success of the one in Liverpool had been so great as actually to call forth an opposition society from the church party in that town. (Hear, hear.) There were two points especially to the existence of which, in the church of Christ, this principle appeared to him absolutely essential—the purity of its fellowship and the efficiency and spirituality of its ministry; points which appeared to him to lie at the very foundation of the success of the Gospel, and of the moral influence which it exercised upon the minds of men. Up to the present time no establishment had ever existed which had not directly and immediately interfered with those two points. With regard to the first, purity of communion, some of the earliest and ablest men in the church of England had advocated the entire amalgamation of the people with the church of Christ. He who was a member of the State was also, according to their theory, a member of the church. Now it was obvious that purity in this case was out of the question; there could be no such thing (hear, hear); and although some, afraid of the course into which this principle would lead them, had created a theory of their own in order to reconcile it with the principles and the statements of Scripture, their practice was continually coming into opposition with their theory, and they were obliged every moment to vindicate the position in which they were placed. They found it impossible, in practice, to exclude any from the church; and it was impossible to construct a system deriving its revenues from the whole country and to exclude individuals from the supposed benefits of such a system. By the very act of establishing it, they put in operation principles which were altogether destructive of the purity of communion. It obviously followed, that where there was no purity of communion there could not be an efficient and spiritual ministry, especially when to this there were added the temptations to unholy men arising from rich endowments. Such a system was calculated to call forth all that was worthless in character, and could not fail to corrupt the human heart. It afforded an opportunity to any man, without reference to his character or his principles, to enter upon the ministry of the Gospel, though his whole course from his entrance upon it to the close of his life should be one proclaiming most loudly and clearly the entire absence of those principles, which it was his professed object to disseminate. (Hear, hear.) He could not but rejoice in the existence and prosperity of an institution which was formed to counteract such fatal errors. Its progress might be slow, but the result could not be doubted. A variety of causes were operating upon the state of public feeling, which would make the next revolution in this country strictly and truly a religious revolution. (Cheers.)

The Rev. DR. CAMPBELL then addressed the meeting, and said that the prospects of the voluntary principle were in his judgment exceedingly hopeful. Was it not an encouraging fact, that not less than 10,000 copies of "Dr. Wardlaw's Lectures on National Establishments" were scattered through England? (Hear, hear.) The result greatly depended upon the conduct of ministers; and the pastors of London should take the lead in this work. It would be a great point gained if all the ministers in London could be induced to become members of that Society. The greatest uniformity prevailed amongst the Roman Catholic priesthood. At a meeting of the Catholic Institute, held that very week, at which he (Dr. Campbell) was present, it was their boast that the whole Roman Catholic clergy of England, without an exception, were members of that Institute. (Hear, hear.) That was an example which their own body would do well to imitate. He was convinced that by vigorous efforts they would be able to spread their principles through England, through the colonies, and through the world. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said, that after what had fallen from Dr. Campbell, he must say that he conceived that they had not as Christians done their duty in relation to the object of that Society. (Hear, hear.) They had not had lectures enough, or meetings enough, nor had they sufficiently circulated their principles by means of the press. Feeling thus, he begged to say that he was prepared for the future with others to devote his time and substance to that great cause. It was the cause of Christ, and as such deserved to be taken up with energy and spirit. (Cheers.) He hoped that they would all in future devote their energies to it with increased ardour. (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. WELLS said, that that which had chiefly impressed his mind since he had entered the room, was the noble moral effect which had been produced by the departure out of the church of the 2000 non-conformist brethren ages ago. (Hear, hear.) Out of that event had grown almost all the just sentiment and religious liberty that prevailed at the present day. For himself, he thought that the times required a manly but Christian avowal of their principles. (Hear, hear.) He had no doubt whatever of the ultimate success of those principles. All the affairs and interests of men were made to subserve the purposes of God. It was 4000 years before the world was prepared for the reception of Christianity. The reason why their principles did not make more rapid progress was, that they were so good (hear, hear); it was because they were ethereal and divine that they met with so much opposition. (Cheers.) There was a cause which did not permit them to use the weapons which some men employed; they must not indulge in calumny, nor in clamour, nor in hard words. (Hear.) It was a source of the greatest delight to him to bear part in the meeting of that day. He looked back upon honoured men and honoured names, who were held in veneration to that hour for their manly, courageous attachment to truth in evil times. They could not be faithful to those who preceded them, if they were not willing to inherit what they had transmitted to them, as they could not be worthy to be connected with those who were to follow after them, if they did not transmit to posterity their principles pure and undefiled. He was delighted in this opportunity

of expressing his sentiments, though so feebly and imperfectly. It was some satisfaction to him to contribute ever so little to warm the hearts and to nerve the courage of his brethren in so great a work.

The Rev. Dr. LINDSAY said, he thought they had not, as a body, hitherto sufficiently availed themselves of the opportunities which had been afforded them of placing before the public their grand and distinctive principles as Congregationalists, or in exposing the awful errors which prevailed in the church of England. (Hear.) The error of baptismal regeneration, and of absolution in the last hour—these had not been sufficiently exposed and denounced. Their publications, in his opinion, were not of the right kind. Such periodicals as the "Elector" and the "Congregational," admirable as they undoubtedly were, were yet such as the humbler and poorer classes of society could not obtain. They wanted these things to be written cheaply, and so written that they might be put into the hands of all the people around them. (Hear, hear.) Were they to resort to such means of diffusing information, his conviction was, that the population would be prepared for the great changes which were then coming upon the country. The great object which they should ever keep in view, was the separation of Church and State. That was the incubus upon the land; that it was which thwarted their efforts in every direction. (Hear, hear.) They must show the country that establishments were contrary to the genius and principles of Christianity; and that until Christianity were suffered to stand on its own ground, it could not be expected to prevail throughout the world. They must prepare the country for the change, in order that when it took place it might be without that violence which they must all deplore and dread. Let there be more union amongst ministers. (Hear, hear.) Those who occupied stations in the metropolis, and who had not so much to suffer as their brethren in the country should go forth and extend their countenance to those brethren. Give them but six such men as Dr. Campbell and John Burnet, and they would carry the country. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. BURNET rose to propose a resolution to the following effect—

"That this meeting offers its sincere and grateful acknowledgments to those friends of the Society in town and country who have so nobly responded to the recent public appeal in behalf of its funds, and expresses a confident hope that the sympathy unanimously expressed throughout the country in the movements of the Society, will meet an adequate response among the voluntary churchmen of the metropolis."

The rev. gentleman then delivered a long and able address, which we regret that our limits preclude us from reporting.

JOSIAH CONDIS, Esq., in seconding the resolution said, he hoped that the impression which had been made by the speeches which had been delivered would not be lost by the meeting. A number of points had been discussed, upon which they required to come to a greater agreement and more distinct views than at present prevailed. They required, at this crisis, to confer together to obtain each other's assistance in working out their great principles. He was afraid that even amongst the ministers of their churches there did not prevail at that moment very distinct views of the voluntary principle. (Hear, hear.) There might be a sort of general agreement, but he had heard many expressions of misgiving as to the peculiarities of their system, which he believed, if they did but more frequently confer together on such points, would speedily vanish. Meetings should be held for discussing in particular, the religious duties of the Christians as citizens: a very anxious concern was manifested on that subject both in town and country. Let ministers teach their people what was their duty at the present crisis; but in order that that might be done effectually the subject should undergo the fullest discussion. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

The meeting was then closed by prayer.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The anniversary of this Institution was held at Exeter Hall on Thursday last, Lord MORPETH in the chair. After singing and prayer,

The CHAIRMAN rose and said, I feel that it would be superfluous for me to enter into the details connected with this Institution; but I cannot withhold a few remarks respecting the general character, purpose, and principle of such an institution. (Cheers.) The very name which it bears, by which it is ordinarily designated, seems to me to denote the purpose, and to bespeak the pretension which it puts forth—The London Missionary Society! Here you have the locality and the object—this ancient and immense capital, the central seat of wealth and commerce, the head and heart of empire. But I wish you to invest it with a yet higher and brighter title. (Cheers.) It may send to and fro upon its wharfs and through its warehouses the produce of the world; it may have piled in its marts, or crowded in its harbours, more than all the merchandise of Tyre, and all the fleets of Carthage; but I want you to make it circulate through the world, across every sea, and along every shore, that treasure of greater price which Tyre never knew, and which Carthage would not retain. (Loud cheers.) Hoping thus, though I am sensible that it is the lowest and the least elevating of the motives by which I believe you to be actuated, that you will secure to our beloved country and to its imperial city a continuance of those mercies and privileges, with which it has hitherto seemed good to the Supreme Power, to exalt and enrich it, because in this way we shall run the least risk of abusing them; if so be, that out of our riches we can minister to the spiritual destitution which yet broods over so large a part of the globe, and out of our fulness we can replenish the nations. (Cheers.) Then what is the object which appeals to the wealth of this metropolis; and through which it appeals to every corner and every congregation of our land? It is to the missionary cause that the existence and exertions of this Institution are pledged and dedicated; and I ask you whether this is not pre-eminently the cause of our age, of our country, of the faith which we profess, and of the Master whom we serve? (Loud cheers.) What cause can be more honoured, more sustaining, more inspiring, than that of the devoted missionary? No doubt as to the worth of the object which he has in view can enfeeble his resolution—no misgiving as to the eventual success of the cause in which he is embarked can damp his perseverance. He is a soldier of that standard which must go forth to

conquer—he is a herald of the triumph against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. (Cheers.) It may be that the testimony will require even the seal of blood. (Hear, hear.) But I venture to ask you whether, among the many who have remained, there are not few indeed who have been led to despond over even the fate of your slaughtered agent, Mr. Williams. You have recognised in the untimely and bloody end of that devoted servant the truth, the depth, the earnestness of those feelings and energies which your undertaking calls forth; and you have remembered that, in the very first days of the church, it was not till after the martyrdom of Stephen, that it hailed the conversion of Saul. (Cheers.) But exertions and sacrifices must not be confined to missionaries or to martyrs. There is much that must be done at home—there is much that must be done by all. I read with concern a statement, which has been put forth from an authentic quarter, which states that "the most urgent and affecting applications are at the present time before the directors; and, did their resources permit, they could send forth 50 additional missionaries into fields where no labourer was yet found; but for want of funds, and from that cause only, those applications cannot be entertained, these extensive and promising fields must be declined. Since the last anniversary, more than 20 candidates for this missionary work have been most reluctantly declined from want of funds, and for this cause alone." Now, this appeal cannot be further enforced or strengthened by any efforts of language. The facts, the broad naked facts, supply the whole argument; and we must look to a higher source to drive home the application. May it be crowned with adequate fruits and with abundant blessing. (Cheers.) Vast tracts of the heathen world lie still in mental darkness and in spiritual famine; and the messenger, who lights the lamp of the Gospel among them, has the credentials of an authentic ordination—(tremendous applause)—the herald, who dispenses the Bread of Life to the famishing, is the true successor of the apostles. (Continued cheering.) And why should not the "work of faith" on earth be carried on upon the same principle as the work of praise in heaven? (Hear, hear.) Why should not the "labour of love" below present some analogy to the strain of joy above, where we are told that from every tribe, and tongue, and people, ay, and from every brotherhood and fellowship of faith, there shall rise, in blended and united chorus, the sweetest hymns of the higher sphere, the loudest hallelujahs to our God? (Great cheering.)

The Report was then read by the SECRETARIES, the Revds. J. Freeman and A. Tidman. It stated, that during the past year, seven champions of the cross, in the vigour of manhood, and four faithful women had entered into rest. Thirteen others, six males and seven females, had been constrained by the sorrows of bereavement or exhausted strength to return to their native land. The directors had sent out 36 devoted friends, either to supply the places of the fallen or to enter upon new scenes of holy conflict. Their distribution had been as follows:—6 to Polynesia, 8 to Africa, 8 to the East Indies, and 14 to the West Indies. The total receipts during the past year were, £80,100; the outlay, £92,734. The sum of £2500 specially contributed on behalf of the widow and family of the martyred Williams was included in the above debtor and creditor amounts.

The Rev. J. ELY, of Leeds, moved—

"That the Report now read, with the requisite additions, be approved, printed, and circulated; that this meeting, with humble thankfulness to the exalted Head of the church and Ruler of the world, records the holy pleasure and encouragement which it derives from the decisive indications of His gracious approval afforded to his faithful servants, the agents of this Society, in their varied and unwearied labours for the advancement of knowledge, happiness, and religion among the perishing millions of the heathen world."

The rev. gentleman said, time was when the reading of the Reports at our public meetings constituted the duller portion of those meetings, and if ever acclaim broke forth, it was when there was an intimation that the conclusion was in prospect. But now, when we listen to details so important, and so stirring, furnished in a style so impressive, and so animated, we feel that the Report constitutes, what it ought to do, the most important part of our whole meeting. (Cheers.) But we forget the compilation when we think of the matters that are there exhibited before us. Here is an assembly consisting of believers in Christ, who boast no high station in society; here are directors, private citizens, and lowly pastors, and they come to tell that the zeal of this society, administered by those directors, has carried on operations of the most stupendous nature in every quarter of the world. They put before us the globe, and turn it from west to east, and point out, under every meridian, the object which they have been instrumental in blessing. They come and lay upon the table specimens of the fruit that has been gathered, incense from the east exhaling fragrance, flowers that have bloomed amid the ices of the poles, gold collected amid barbaric sands, and pearls gathered from the oceans of the torrid zone. (Cheers.) They come to present us with a document, inscribed with many a name, ay, with a myriad of names, in many a dialect; and in some, which, but 20 years ago, were unwritten and unformed jargons: and these subscriptions are those of men who have subscribed with their hands allegiance to Jehovah, the God of salvation. They come to tell us of myriads that have been converted to God; they announce that the Lord hath done great things for them among the heathen, and myriads of voices come upon every wind and respond, "The Lord hath done great things for us;" and we are all ready to reiterate the exclamation with holy gladness, and exclaim, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." (Loud cheers.) What need is there that I should go over the track along which that Report has passed? You will think of the islands of the South Seas, once declared to be the very seats of Arcadian simplicity and unsophisticated nature, then proved to be the abodes of the most horrid cannibalism, but now filled with Christian converts, presenting examples of spiritual beauty in the numerous churches planted among them. And what though among them rises Erromanga, and what though our spirits are saddened as we picture it before us, is it not consecrated as the sepulchre, or rather now, since you have removed their bones, as the cenotaph of our martyred missionaries; and those coral rocks are the palisades, and those mountain peaks the obelisks on which, in the blood of their martyrdom, are inscribed the memorials of devoted zeal, and the glory of the

Gospel? (Cheers.) We look to India, and there what noble examples already present themselves of devotedness to God, among men who break the bond of caste, who willingly give their goods to be spoiled for the Gospel of Christ, and who, with all the sensibilities of the heart, rendered exquisitely tender by the religion they profess, learn for His kingdom to hate father and mother, husband and wife, son and daughter. Half a century ago, what was the state of this work, and what is the progress which has since been made? Amid what discouragement, amid what scorn, in what a spirit of holy confessorship did our fathers institute this great cause! Carey was forbidden to put his foot upon British India—he must cross the river that he might labour beneath a foreign government. Nott and his companions passed the first night in Tahiti, after the final departure of the Duff, keeping watch at the door of their hut in momentary dread of attack and assassination, it being reported to them that the natives designed to assail and to slaughter every one of them that very night. When Vanderkemp visited that Southern Africa, on which his heart was set, in vain, with all his practical wisdom and devoted zeal, did he attempt to fix the roving habits, or attract the attention of the Caffre. Then at home there was scorn, there was opposition, there was violent hostility. But amidst all these discouragements, our fathers persevered in the spirit of prayer. They felt their dependence, but they knew their obligations; and they prosecuted their silent steady course in full assurance that in the end success would be vouchsafed. And now what a review is there of what God has done on our behalf. Look and see what agencies he has raised up at home—what agency abroad. Rich, indeed, have been the fruits of the missionary field—talent, character, and zeal. Our missionaries—what have they been? Men whose foreheads were flints, while their hearts were flesh—(hear, hear)—who have united the boldness of the lion with the gentleness of the lamb—men who have combined the wisdom of philosophy with the skill of the mechanic and the simplicity of the little child—who have been the most successful explorers of seas and continents—who have subdued the most untractable languages—who have met the subtlest sophistries of the Brahmin, and refined the wild savageism of the barbarian—who have retained the refinements of taste, while enduring companionship with degraded aborigines—who have familiarly held intercourse with them, that they might qualify themselves for their work, and yet have never sunk to their level—men who have achieved labours, the monuments of which are the world's wonder; whose enterprises have attracted the attention of philosophers and of statesmen; and whose holy zeal, and extraordinary success have gladdened the hearts of the people of God, while they have confessed that these are the messengers of the churches and the glory of Christ. (Cheers.) And then what singular instances of gracious interposition has the history of missionary enterprise furnished. Take but a specimen in the South Sea Islands. After 14 or 15 years' labour, the missionaries prepared to depart; and here in London the Board of Directors met that they might consult whether or not they should withdraw the mission from those islands; and at that very juncture the missionary passed from Eimeo to Tahiti—he heard the whisper of prayer in the bush—it was a convert—another and another was presented—a roll was opened—their names were entered; they crowded on the missionaries; the roll was abandoned, and island after island, group after group, was converted to God, till, as at this day, the South Sea missions constitute the joy and the glory of our Society. (Loud cheers.) And then what gracious outpourings of God's Holy Spirit have there been upon the missionary field. We look even to China, and there is the church once embosomed within its borders. The elements still exist, and Leang-afa is a confessor whom some communities would canonize. (Cheers.) We then pass over, and contemplate Madagascar. You there behold Stephen's piety, as amid a shower of stones he breathed out the supplication for his murderers, and commended his spirit to the Saviour's hand. You behold his piety exhibited again, and men and women found grace to the faithful unto death. You have seen Rafavavy, you have heard of Rasalamo, and you cannot but be astonished at the grace of God vouchsafed to these Malagashy. (Hear, hear.) But look over the whole field, its entire aspect inspires joy and gratitude. Myriads of converts break the sacramental bread each Sabbath, and myriads more have passed already from the missionary field below to the church above. The great work has made its impression upon the heathen around, and they acknowledge that it is a work which they cannot gainsay. The British public, the civilized world, have their eyes fixed with wonder upon the scenes where the wilderness has been made to blossom as the rose; and now, instead of ribald scorn and philosophic contempt, we have every where the tribute paid to the greatness, the benevolence, the success of this great enterprise,—while the churches at home, rejoicing, are revived by the re-action of that blessing which has been vouchsafed to their labours abroad, and pictures which seemed to be but the distant images of prophecy are now embodied before our very view.

The Rev. W. CARTER seconded the resolution.

The Rev. Dr. LEITCH moved the second resolution:—

"That this meeting regards with grateful pleasure the kindness and liberality with which the appeal recently made by the Directors in aid of its funds was received. It most earnestly entreats the friends of the Society throughout the empire, by a liberal advance in the amount of annual subscriptions on the part of the affluent, by encouraging and directing the missionary ardour of the young, especially in Sabbath and other schools, and by multiplying well organized and systematic efforts to meet the circumstances and sustain the zeal of all, to prevent in future the necessity of 'special efforts,' and to enable the Directors not only to preserve undiminished the present number of the Society's devoted agents, but to adopt others whom God has raised up in answer to our prayers, and to enter on some of the fields which he is opening as the result of our exertions, and where the multitudes that have long sat silently in darkness, now awakened to a sense of their misery, earnestly implore the light of life."

Let me remind you (said the Doctor) of the advanced position we now occupy in the missionary field. I can cast back my view to the period when we began to go forth to it, when our missionaries had to encounter the most formidable difficulties, and to overcome apparently insurmountable obstacles before they could enter on their work. They saw these difficulties in every direction, and felt that they were to be overcome only by patient industry and unwearied perseverance. That was the case then; but what was the case now? Through the blessing of God upon their faithful labours, their unwearied perseverance, their glorious fidelity, these difficulties have been overcome, these

obstacles have been surmounted and cleared away. (Cheers.) Their integrity, honour, and benevolence, have won the hearty admiration of savage nations; so that the name of a Christian minister is now a passport for travellers all over the world. (Cheers.) They have unravelled the sophistries of ancient heathen superstitions, and by the advancing light of knowledge and science, have destroyed their hold upon the mind. The face of this have become entirely changed; and the facilities for missionary labour are entirely altered from what they were at the period to which I have adverted. (Cheers.) There are persons who think little of the advancement of the world to this state, and it is only those who can compare the two states that can duly estimate the value and importance of the change. We are now ready to say, The worst is over, the way clear, the future comparatively easy, and we have nothing to do but steadily to prosecute our labours. In this I find a sufficient answer to those who taunt us with the question, "What have you done?" Done! we have not done. (Laughter and cheers.) We have been making preparation for doing. We have been levelling mountains, filling up valleys, making crooked things straight, and rough places smooth, to prepare in the desert a high way for our God (Loud applause.) The preparation is effected—the way is made—the chariot of the Gospel is going forth in every direction through the length and breadth of the heathen world, and the Saviour is going forth in it to proclaim salvation to the nations, to claim the fulfilment of the promise which his Almighty Father made to him when he gave the heathen for his inheritance, the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession, and to say to the nations, "Behold your God!" If we had nothing more than this, I for one would rejoice, and I do rejoice, in the preparation thus made. (Cheers.) But the actual results of the labours of our missionaries, as you have heard this day, are such as to deserve the most grateful acknowledgments, and to warrant the most sanguine anticipations. (Cheers.) Some instalments of the grant have been already paid; some parts of the heathen have been won by the missionaries to the faith of Christ in all lands. There is scarcely a tribe but has lent some warriors to the standard of the son of Jesse. (Cheers.) We see the groups of converts in all directions—sound in Christian knowledge and practice—setting even to us an example in the simplicity of their worship, and the devotedness of their hearts and lives. We see their children around them being trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. We see native teachers rising up among them, and going forth with all the ardour of new converts, and yet with all the steadfastness and fortitude of veterans. We see these groups in Africa, in the West Indies, in the teeming islands of the Southern Seas, in the East, and in the far North. These spectacles greet our eyes wherever we turn our view. And is this a state of things from which we are to go back? (Hear, hear.) Are men who have been brought out of the ignorance of heathenism to the knowledge of the true God to go back again to darkness? (Cheers.) Are women who have been elevated by Christianity to the rights of their sex to go back again to degradation? Are slaves released from their fetters, and partaking of the freedom of the Gospel of Christ, to go back again to their chains? (Cheers.) Go back! Is the sun to go back? (Renewed cheers.) Who does not see in this state of things the promise and the pledge of continuance and advance even to the consummation? As Noah, when he sat upon Mount Ararat, with the Divine promise of the subsidence of the waters, saw the top of one green mountain appearing after another, could not doubt but that he should see the whole earth again vivid with the beams of the sun, and blossoming with fertility greater than before the flood, so we, looking at these spots of moral beauty and cultivation, with the Divine promise on our side, cannot doubt that there will be an universal spread of fertility in knowledge and in piety. (Cheers.) I shall not suspend my joy to the consummation. As I can fetch matter for joy out of the past by faith in the page of history, so I would find matter for joy in the future by faith in the page of prophecy, now confirmed by actual appearances. (Applause.) I know there may be much labour to be performed, much tribulation to be undergone, some dark days and conflicting scenes to be passed through, but let those who are of a more melancholy temperament dwell upon them, let them go and linger amid the war trumpets, and vials and plagues of the Apocalypse, I shall encourage my hopes by listening to the silvery sounds of that trumpet which seems now to be floating on the distant breeze, "Hallelujah, hallelujah, the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. The kingdoms of this world have become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." (Loud cheers.) If ever there might have been ambiguity about the arrival of such a state of things, there is room for doubt no longer. The most superficial observers must be struck with the preparations being made for bringing about some great epoch in the intellectual and moral character of the minds of men. Why else is man loosened from his ancient superstitions? Why else is there such inquiry abroad? Why are the distant nations of the earth brought into such near intercourse—especially the two great Christian nations—Britain and America? Why does the missionary spirit keep in force and increase in strength from year to year amidst all other changes and decays? Why have the Sacred Scriptures been translated into the tongues and languages of the earth, to an extent that no mind could at one time have anticipated, and which is still advancing, so that the Bible is become the most common book? Thanks to the sapping and undermining of monopolies—(Loud and long continued cheering)—thanks to God for that great work! May it proceed until the Bible becomes the cheapest book in all the world! (Loud applause.) The most insensible mind must be struck with these things as indications of the preparation making for the arrival of a great crisis in the history of mankind, while they say to all who have ears to hear, in intelligible language, "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh." I wish the men of the world could be brought to our meeting—(laughter and cheers)—to listen to our reports—to listen to the recitals of missionaries—to the scenes of their labours and successes—recitals more wonderful than romance—recitals such, as I am bold to say, they could hear from no other quarter. (Hear, hear.) The knowledge which travellers acquire of those countries through which they pass is comparatively very small with that of the missionaries who dwell there, and become one with the inhabitants. (Hear, hear.) Recitals, I will add, true to the

very letter, and challenging and defying contradiction. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") If they could be made acquainted with what God is doing by the instrumentality of this Society, they could not withhold their applause, their admiration, and their support. (Hear, hear.) There is one thing which I beg to mention in this connexion. I have neither time nor inclination to dwell upon minute points, or points of doubtful disputation; but the point to which I refer is not minute, although it may be disputed. The operations of this Society have not been the effect of ecclesiastical authority—(hear, hear)—of any government grants, or of coercion of any kind. (Loud cheers.) They have been the work of a people whom God has made willing in the day of his power. They have been the effect of the contributions and services of those whose hearts the Lord hath stirred up, and the work has prospered in their hands, because the people had a mind for the work. (Cheers.) They have all been the effect of the voluntary principle—(long-continued applause)—that much abused, because much misunderstood, principle—that principle which has been represented as not able to cover a single country with the means of religious instruction. But that very principle, leaving its adversaries to snarl and rage—(laughter)—has sought thus to cover the whole world, and it has succeeded. I except no Missionary Society from this remark. (Cheers.) The Church Missionary Society has a large share of it, and may it have more! May it never relinquish that principle, as I trust some near to me will take care that it never shall. (Loud applause.) The moment it loses that principle, it loses its glory. (Hear, hear.) Let it take the lead, let it go before us, and all I can say is—we will endeavour to follow it. (Applause.) The missionary cause has this peculiarity belonging to it—if any one Society steps forward, all the rest step after and come up to it. Let us then exert the voluntary principle to the utmost. It has not been half worked yet. (Cheers.) I hope I shall not be thought to have gone out of the way to vindicate an old friend in the presence of so many of its friends, and especially in the presence of that ultra-voluntary principle advocate—Thomas Wilson, Esq. (Laughter, and great applause.) This is the principle you must inculcate on your converts abroad. You must teach them this diligently, that is, "They have freely received, they must freely give." They must maintain the means among themselves—(hear, hear)—and send those means to others—(hear)—for without that the work cannot go on. We may begin it, and we ought to begin it; but they must carry it on, and they must be taught to do so. In the West Indies, however, they do not seem to need teaching. (Cheers.) A congregation of 800 persons, some of them receiving assistance, and all of them field labourers on the lowest wages, have raised during the last year, £800, besides supporting Sunday-schools, and day-schools, and the preaching of the Gospel on 12 plantations, to upwards of 3000 negroes. (Hear, hear.) Methinks they might come and teach us. (Hear.) We have few congregations of that number and character that do so much. It seems to me that this has been the most pleasant feature in the communications made to us this morning. (Cheers.) The West Indian spirit of congregational liberality has provided an antidote to all discouragement and lighted up a beam of hope. (Cheers.) It has proved to us that the work will go on, whether we live or die. We have lighted up a fire that will continue to produce flames in the world, even if we are removed. (Applause.) We are not only practising the voluntary principle, but perpetuating it throughout the globe, and it appears to me that it is only by that means that the globe can become converted to God. (Cheers.) The recent revivals of the work of God among the heathen, calls upon us for redoubled exertions in the missionary cause. Now that God is calling us forward with his own voice we must obey. It is not enough for us to renew our efforts, we must increase them—by increasing prayer, by circulating information, by augmenting our own contributions, by increased zeal in obtaining the contributions of others. We must enlarge our resources; we must enlist new energies in the cause; we must beat up for recruits; we must go beyond parents, and we must enrol their children. Sunday-schools must teach their disciples—(hear, hear)—the duty and the privilege of contributing to this work. We need not be debarred from increasing our exertions in the missionary cause by the demand made on our energies in consequence of new spheres opening around us at home. Not, however, that I could be indifferent to home,—(hear, hear)—God forbid! But I believe that the greater our exertions in the missionary cause, the better it will be for home. That may not appear to be the case in theory, but it is proved to be the case in fact. (Applause.) When the benevolent feelings of Christians are aroused to the work of the conversion of the world, their sympathies become excited to the claims of home, and the advocates of those claims must, for the sake of avoiding inconsistency, meet with success. (Hear, hear.) What has been the result of the extra movement which has been made in the metropolis? The revival of the work of God abroad has called forth powerful statements of the destitute condition of the inhabitants of this metropolis which has met with a warm response. (Hear, hear.) I believe that the best friends of Home Missions will be the most liberal contributors to foreign operations. Cool their zeal to foreign objects, let them withhold their contributions to the missionary cause, and then make your appeal for home, and the principle would be so cold and dead as no longer to respond to it. But when, on the contrary, you see feelings awakened for the conversion of the world, there is a ground for your appeal for home, and you can never fail. (Hear, hear.) There was an individual reproached by a wealthy neighbour for having given a liberal contribution to the missionary cause. He had given £100 at one of the meetings—he gave that every year—and it must come to that at last, if we are to advance. (Hear, hear.) His neighbour said to him, "You have been too liberal for the world abroad, and have forgotten the world at home. There is Ireland—has she not a claim?" He replied, "I grant that Ireland has a powerful claim—I will subscribe £50 for Ireland, if you will join me." (Cheers.) "No," he said, "have we not enough to do in England?—we must begin at home." The gentleman answered, "Very well, let us commence with home—I will give £50 for England, if you will join me." (Hear, hear.) He made an evasive reply—(laughter)—and so he saved his money; but lost his credit—(cheers)—for sincerity and sympathy—(cheers)—and could grumble no more about consistency. I imagine he

is a specimen of all the grumblers in the land. (Hear, hear.) What is the fact? Since we have increased in zeal for foreign missionary exertions our Societies at home—our City Missions—our Town Missions—our Home Missions have been in more vigorous activity than ever. In the recent exertions for the foreign cause, who stepped forth more nobly than Thomas Thompson, Esq., the Treasurer of the Home Missionary Society? (Cheers.) Then again, will not success abroad have a reaction at home? Shall we not be carried back to the standard by the patterns of Christianity raised up by missionary efforts. The various denominations have hardly gone among the heathen before some have been converted to simple Christianity. Their character is cast in the original mould free of all those peculiarities of sect, and form, and denomination, which adhere to us here. When we hear of the fact of the simplicity of their worship, of their attachment to the house of God, of their liberality to their ministers, of their affection to one another, of their obedience to the civil power, while in religion they have no king but Jesus, they will be our patterns, and we shall be ready to say, "We will not be outdone by our converts—(cheers)—those whom we have brought into the course shall not surpass us in the race." (Hear, hear.) I wish we had some of our negro converts here this morning as patterns. (Hear, hear.) I should like to have them as specimens of liberality to this cause. I wish that our wooden-legged friend referred to in the report was here to set us an example, and to make every one say, "So much for myself, so much for my wife, so much for my child." (Cheers.) I would not distract the meeting by a political allusion, but I cannot deny myself the gratification of expressing to your lordship the admiration which I have felt at the just and enlightened sentiments which you have uttered, not only here, but in your place in Parliament. (Immense cheers.) Whatever response you meet with there, assure yourself they are not lost on the country, not lost on us. (Renewed cheers.) And though our voice may not be loud and deep, it is a voice of thanksgiving to God for inspiring men in high station with such just and enlightened sentiments, and for inspiring them with courage to utter their thoughts. (Cheers.) If you would but go a little further, if yourself and your compeers would but allow us to support those forms of religion which we deem to be scriptural, in the fear of the Lord, without any fear of imprisonment and of chains—(cheers)—why then we would say, with one heart and one voice—ay, we will not hesitate to say it now—"Prosperity to the counsels of Britain, and the Queen of her isle." (Immense cheering.) The Chairman then vacated the chair, which was taken by Mr. Hankey.

The Rev. Dr. ALDER seconded the resolution, and said, It is pleasing to reflect that we, who belong to different religious communities, are assembled here this day for the purpose of assisting one of the noblest missionary institutions of modern times, to accomplish a divinely promised result by the use of a divinely appointed agency. (Cheers.) The result we seek to accomplish is the conversion of the world to the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the instrumentality we employ is the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. The truth as it is in Jesus is the best instrument that can be employed, and it is so because it derives its appointment not from the wisdom of man, but from the wisdom and grace of that Being who in his dispensations has accommodated himself to the character and circumstances of man, and whose counsels of old are faithfulness and truth. It is one of the peculiarities of Christianity, that its founders and its greatest advocates have ever dwelt upon topics which, humanly speaking, we might have supposed they would have been anxious to conceal. On the mount of transfiguration, our Lord spake of his decease that he should accomplish at Jerusalem. The motto of the apostle of the Gentiles has been the motto of every faithful pastor, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." Instead, therefore, of speaking of chapels erected, of schools formed, of natives brought into the fold of Christ, if I am asked for evidence of your success, I reply that you are in debt, and that debt is the result of your success. (Loud cheers.) If you plant a missionary in Africa, or any where else, and he succeeds, you will have chiefs coming from all parts, calling upon you to send missionaries to them. It is the same with every other form of agency you employ, in subserviency to the Gospel, for the accomplishment of your design. You are not alone in reference to embarrassment. The Society with which I am officially connected is also in debt; we have a rule in our community which expressly provides that we shall not contract debt, and yet, with that rule before us, we have violated it. We have, however, been encouraged to do it, because there is a saving clause, "Without the probability of paying." (Laughter.) We have all along had that probability, and from the demonstration of Christian friends, it appears to me certain that you shall be relieved from your embarrassment, and so shall we. If God is able to raise up children unto Abraham from the very stones, he will provide the necessary gold and silver for carrying out this great and holy work. (Cheers.) I cannot sit down without congratulating you on behalf of the Society with which I am connected, upon the honour which God has been pleased to put upon you. I would venture to say, "Be not weary in well doing." This is the noblest cause that can engage the attention of man or of angels. (Hear, hear.) Christian men cannot better invest the capital they possess than in connexion with this great object. It is far superior to joint-stock companies. Does any one ask, where is the dividend? You have it in the broken fetters of 800,000 bondmen—(cheers)—in the fruits springing up among the Hottentots and Caffres—in the astonishing transformations which the Lord, the Spirit, not by tradition but by evangelical truth, has accomplished in the islands of the Southern Pacific. (Cheers.) When all material property shall have been consumed by the last conflagration, you who have contributed to this cause shall have principal and interest, with a hundred-fold increase. For "they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

The Rev. T. ARCHER moved—

"That this meeting humbly and reverently acknowledges the Divine power of the Holy Spirit as the only source of missionary success in the salvation of the Heathen, and most affectionately and strongly recommends to all the friends of this sacred cause, with continued and enlarged efforts to combine fervent and per-

severing prayer, well assured that to what amount soever exertion should be augmented, it must, without this promised grace, prove labour in vain."

I shall not occupy your time by dwelling upon the grounds of that work to which as Christians, in these days of Christian activity, we are unitedly and individually pledged. It is sufficient to glance at the fact, that the greatest designs which we contemplate shall never have been accomplished until the whole earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and the prospect which we heard yesterday so beautifully developed shall be realized in the manifestation of the Divine oracle—that manifestation which shall strike dumb every false god. The question naturally is, and one to which my motion brings me, if such be the magnitude of the work, what is there which has been intrusted to the church by which it can be accomplished? I need scarcely say, that eloquent as the statements were to which we listened yesterday, regarding the adaptation of Scripture to the mental and moral constitution of man, it is not to be supposed that the investigation of those statements can command the assent of those to whom they are delivered. There is no subject on which more splendid declamation has been used than upon the truth of the statement, "God is the truth, and it shall and must prevail." (Hear, hear.) Yes, but that is truth of a particular kind. It is truth that does not interfere with the prejudices of human passion. But spiritual truth, that truth that aims a blow at the root of all human pride must of necessity be opposed by the corrupt and depraved heart. (Hear, hear.) If your missionaries, when they went to preach the Gospel, met with a ready acquiescence in the minds of those to whom they spoke, I should dread that the truth had been compromised. Nor do we invoke the force of human authority in any quarter. We know that the mythology of India shall perish—that the pagodas shall be deserted—that the priesthood shall be abolished; but we do not ask the British Government to lift us its hand against a single temple. (Hear, hear.) We only say, leave the system to itself, and not to ourselves (cheers); and with the unaided energies of that truth we can command, accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit, the proudest and most colossal monuments must fall before the ascendant glories of God's own Son. (Cheers.) If we go to Madagascar, we do not ask that the Queen should take the Christian people of the land under her patronage; we only say, "Leave them alone; we wish not your support to defend and shelter them; but leave truth to an open field to operate as the antagonist of error, and we cannot, without dishonouring the God of truth, for a moment doubt the issue." (Cheers.) When on this platform, in the year 1836, John Williams—that man whose eloquence and intellect might be aptly compared to an elephant's trunk—so fine that it could pick up a pin, and so massive that it could heave an oak from its solid foundations—(cheers)—an intellect possessing the calmness of conscious strength, and yet connected with the deepest simplicity—an intellect as much at home in building a ship as in converting a soul—as much at home in the palace of the great as in our missionary halls—when he stood on this platform and met the assertion that the missionaries had employed the power of the king to propagate their own religion, and to advance their own interests, in a most manly and Christian spirit he repudiated the charge, and said, that in all cases the power of truth and the influences of the Holy Spirit only had been invoked by them. (Hear, hear.) Far distant be that day, when the Christian Church or its missionaries, in any department, shall invoke any other power than that which is kindred to the truth itself. (Cheers.) If none of these things will do, we are thrown directly upon the resources of the Holy Spirit, upon which I will not dilate. But of this we may rest assured—that nothing but the power of the Spirit has ever produced a single spiritual revolution, or ever can. Go back to the time of Pentecost, when men believed the truth beaming forth fresh upon their minds; go back to the period when the Areopagites trembled before the preaching of the Gospel, when barbarous countries were completely subdued by the mild genius of the religion of God's own Son, and you will find apostolic men gifted with the brightest eloquence, producing, under God, those results. But there are two things in connexion with this which we must bear in mind. First, the intellect of these men was elicited by the Spirit of God, and might otherwise have been left unemployed and unknown in the fishermen of Galilee and the tent-maker of Tarsus—(hear, hear)—and secondly, with that was combined the influence of the Holy Spirit in the practical application of Divine truth to the heart. (Hear, hear.) I come to the days of the Reformation, and behold the galaxy of mind I had almost said created by it. We find eloquence, and science, and literature all combined; but all these were softened down and directed by the Spirit of God, and Popery was shaken almost to its centre. We can only add the wish that it had been shaken to the centre, and that that work which went so far, and which has been condemned for going too far, had advanced a little further still. (Cheers.) If the work of the Reformation is to be continued, it must be by the church depending upon the Spirit of God, who alone can maintain it. If Oxford is not to go to Rome—(hear, hear)—and to take the mind of England in its train, it must be by the descent of the Holy Spirit, imbuing and spiritualizing the entire mind of God's own people. We need not fear that the Church of England will go back to Rome so long as such men as Bickersteth, Shuttleworth, and Noel, are in it. (Cheers.) We need not fear the recreant ministers of Oxford will carry out their plans while there are such men in that Church, and while we have the manly intellect and the deep research evinced by my reverend father, Dr. Bennet, in his history of the works of the fathers. (Loud cheers.) But the surest safeguard is the power of the Spirit, that power which alone can conquer the whole world to Christ. Reference has been made this day to the great revolution which has taken place in the opinions of men regarding the missionary enterprise. The reverend declaimer of the "Edinburgh Review"—(laughter and cheers)—is silenced; the apostolic successor who sneered at apostolic work is silenced. (Cheers.) Literature is now combined to a great extent with the missionary name. The missionary cause has its own literary, its own scientific men. But do I thank the world for the homage it has paid to the cause of missions? Certainly not. They have not given a single particle of praise to the cause which has not been forced from them. Science has now paid its tribute to the magnitude of the work, but it has been extorted by the

labours and eloquence of the missionaries themselves. (Hear, hear.) We have nothing for which to be grateful to the world. The world has much to be indebted for to us, and we ought to remember that in this great work the world can do us no honour; that the brightest coronet cannot reflect a single beam of glory upon the cross, but the cross can give unspeakable splendour to the brightest coronet—(hear, hear)—ay, the most majestic diadem that ever flourished on a monarch's brow. This is the great distinction—that the cross adds to all, and borrows from none. (Cheers.) I cannot pass from this part of the subject without warning my brethren and fathers from being deceived. We are in danger, by the very circumstances which have this day been referred to. I dread the influence of the world's favour, and the homage given by rank, literature, and science to our cause. I dread it for this reason—I fear we shall be tempted to lose our spirituality, and to depart from the simplicity of reliance upon that agency by which alone we can expect the Divine blessing. I fear that the fable of the cloak and the storm may be applied to us—the sunshine of the world may prompt many a missionary and many a minister to throw aside that mantle which he would draw closer around him when the storm of the world blew against him. (Hear, hear.) We must be aware of this, and instead of taking this homage as a thing to be regarded with no suspicion, we must view it as exposing us to the greatest danger. (Hear, hear.) My motion refers to the necessity of fervent prayer. I put it to the meeting, to many by whom I am surrounded, whether they are in that position in which it may be expected that, as a praying church, the Spirit of God will descend upon us. Is the spirit of prayer now diffused upon the church to that extent, to which we ought to look for it in connexion with the full manifestation of Divine influence? There is nothing of the kind. One other remark. We must be more united—(cheers)—or else we never can expect the full manifestation of Divine Grace, in connexion with the conversion of the world. It is recorded in no less than three places in the Acts of the Apostles, "They were all with one accord in one place." It is not accidental; it is not a reference of the historian without some design. It is intended to teach us, that the effusion of the Holy Spirit was closely connected with that state of union in which the church then was, and in which God could bless; consistently with his own character. There is a double influence, direct and reflex. Unity will bring the Spirit down, and the Spirit's descent will increase our unity. The more we seek that Spirit, the more shall we become one: and the more we are one, the more will the spirit of love descend upon the church. Let us leave, as much as we can, those things which have kept us from each other. There is a tendency in individuals, which I deplore, to withdraw themselves within the barriers of their own peculiarities. I lament it most deeply. (Hear, hear.) I am as much attached to my own peculiarities as any man can be—I think on conscientious grounds; but no man should so treat points of difference from his fellow-Christians, as to exclude them from organization. (Long-continued cheering.) It is not a holiday union that I am now urging—it is not a union at a May meeting—(hear, hear)—it is not a union on the platform of Exeter Hall—but a union in spirit, and heart, and action—a union in holy activity, in deep thankfulness. By the interchange of these courtesies, evangelical ministers of the Church of England will feel that they ought to be more united than ever with evangelical men in the ranks of dissent; and evangelical men in the ranks of dissent will feel it their duty—I feel it myself—to give to evangelical men in the Church a double portion of their sympathy, because they are bearing a noble witness against the semi-Popery of Oxford. (Cheers.) The external difficulties of the Church should bring those within it into closer concord; it will be a great blessing, and tend to a great extent to counteract the evils. Let this be the motto—"Each for all, and all for Christ and the world." (Cheers.) With such a watchword we cannot fail—with such a watchword we must succeed, and bring down that mighty spiritual river which will refresh the whole earth, and fertilize it for ever. (Cheers.) Lord Bacon said that it was delightful to stand upon the neutral ground, and command that eminence which Milton says so few can attain. Beneath us are the shades of spiritual death, through which, now and then, the fatal malaria passes, and now and then there are intimations of the deep and dread danger that is rapidly approaching. If Bacon could say that it was delightful to stand on the vantage ground of truth, the noble delight is reserved for us of bringing from the throne the seven spirits whose mighty rushing wind can drive the fogs and mists away, and introduce those who have been approaching to spiritual death, into the full and glowing light of the Sun of Righteousness—the harbinger of spiritual and everlasting day. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST NOEL seconded the resolution, and said, I must in some measure qualify the assent which I give to the sentiments uttered by my rev. brother who has just addressed us. Though we have often received from the world much of injury and opposition, when that opposition is loosened, and when men render to this great and good work, or to any philanthropic work, a cordial support, I think that we do owe them something. (Hear, hear.) It is to me a matter of unfeigned gratitude to God, to observe in various parts of the earth how the influence of those in high station, instead of being employed to extinguish, as far as in them lay, the hopes of missions, have been employed to further their success; and deeply as I am conscious of that particular danger to which my rev. brother adverted in his interesting address—the danger we are in of contracting a worldly spirit, by contact with those who offer us the patronage of power—still, while we guard against that danger, we should thankfully receive the benefit. (Hear, hear.) There are features in the present state of missions which warrant much hope. The accumulated experience of 47 years has not been lost on this Society. I doubt not but those most conversant with its proceedings have perceived, from year to year, new modes of proceeding, to promote the work which before they overlooked, and mistakes corrected, and circumstances tending to mar its progress removed. (Hear, hear.) It appears to me to promise much good in prosecuting this object, that the missionaries, instead of being placed singly, to faint amid the difficulties of their various spheres of labour, should be more and more crowded

together. The attention of missionary societies has been called to this object. It will probably save much of missionary life, and missionary labour, and will probably make each missionary far more effective than he was before. (Hear, hear.) This conclusion is forced upon us, by observing the success of the experiment which has been made by the American churches, in placing clusters of missionary stations, through which means each part has received aid from the rest. The united prayers of the missionaries would give energy to the whole body, and when the work of grace is proceeding in one spot, all the missionary brethren could come to the aid of that one brother. We have seen, in this fact, a machinery proposed to us from which, by the blessing of God, far greater results may be anticipated than when missionaries are labouring singly among the heathen. (Hear, hear.) We may bless God that since the beginning of this century there has been a growth of missionary feelings—a growth that would not have been anticipated by those veterans in the cause who have cheered our hearts by their common sense and their good sentiments. But although that growth has been indeed beyond what could be anticipated, it would become every one who looked at the promises God has given to his church, or measured the obligations under which he personally lies to the Redeemer, to ask whether the state of the church of Christ at this day is all that we could desire. (Hear, hear.) I would ask, whether the triumphs of the Gospel of Christ after 18 centuries have been such as the early church might have anticipated? I would ask, whether there is not now a spiritual death around us?—a mass of those ignorant of the Gospel of Christ presented to our view in the world, which is altogether appalling to those who think that for 18 centuries the church of Christ has had a commission to preach the Gospel to every creature, and during that period has been under the watchful care of its Founder and its Head? There was one point also in the report which furnished to my mind painful topics of reflection. Why is it that the state of the older missions in the South Seas—which is the very triumph of modern missions—that these are now under declension? Why is it that you hear more of the spiritual health of the Raratonga and Samoan groups than of the Tahitian and their neighbours? It shows us that we may anticipate circumstances to arise in the progress of each mission tempting its members to declension. (Hear, hear.) When we reflect on the history of the early churches, we have reason. I think, to anticipate such declension in these churches gathered amongst the heathen; and ought we not, with the utmost solicitude and care, to guard against the progress of it? But it is not declension abroad which alone is to be apprehended? We have to ask ourselves, as those who fear God and desire the progress of his cause, whether we have not grounds to fear declension at home? Wherever I look in the history of the Christian church, I find materials for humiliation rather than for triumph. Churches Established or not Established, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, richer or poorer, have all come under the influence of unfavourable circumstances. The Established and Episcopal Church of England fearfully fell away after the Reformation from the early zeal it had manifested, till religion had frightfully declined in the whole island, through its decay in the Established Church. The same occurred in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. If these established churches came under a sinister influence, and lost their early spirit, so, as my brother from France can witness, did the Protestant church of that country at the same time sink into worldliness and false doctrine, till religion seemed well-nigh overwhelmed there, though those churches were not established. Just in proportion as we feel it deeply that the Spirit of God must animate every part of this great work, we may hope for his blessing. But in connexion with this feeling there must be another. To what is it owing that the Spirit of God has not been more largely poured out, when there have been so many thousands of prayers presented at the throne of Grace? Is it not because there is something in our own spirit which belies the prayers we utter, and because we are not making those sacrifices of faith and love which might prove our prayers to be sincere? We want, as it seems to me, a deep persuasion of the ruined state of our fellow-creatures, a thorough consciousness that the mercy of God has saved us from it. We want to feel that we are the favoured inheritors of the kingdom of heaven through the blood of the Redeemer; that God the Spirit has made our humble hearts the temples of his presence; and then to look down, as the last speaker said, from the heights of truth upon a world lying in wickedness and sorrow, that we may feel our hearts yearning over their miseries and longing to save them. (Hear, hear.) We want not mere hollow or holiday union, but a thorough union of heart amongst all the people of God. (Cheers.) I cannot express to you the sense I have of the importance of this truth; I believe it to be one capital want of our times, I believe it to be the one great necessity of the church of God at this moment; and if there are others who make it their boast to nail their colours to their party, we, if with not more of zeal, at least with as much of energy, as it is possible to command—we call on every man to nail his colours to the mast of unity amongst God's people. (Loud cheers.) That which is the best policy for any political party—for every denomination of the church of Christ, is the best policy also for every Missionary Society, and for every individual Christian,—it is to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by which the blessing of the Spirit of God might rest upon a party, upon a denomination, upon the Missionary Society, on an individual. I am deeply persuaded, that if we all give our hearts mainly to this, not neglecting, in their proper position, any lower motives or other means of action—but if we mainly set our hearts on this, individually manifesting, in the very highest degree, love to God and to our fellow-creatures, founded on faith in Christ, we shall take the very best means which are open to us as individuals, both to heal the divisions in the church of Christ, and lessen the disorders—that cannot advance it—and to remove the abuses we may deplore. By promoting all right objects, temporal and spiritual, we shall do our parts best as Christian citizens, as subjects of the British Crown, as members of society, and as disciples of our common Saviour. The rev. gentleman then sat down amid loud cheering.

After a few words from T. THOMPSON, Esq., and Dr. MORISON, the

Rev. W. MORTON, from India, moved, and the Rev. Dr. HALL, seconded—

"That this meeting learns, with affectionate sorrow, that the death of the Rev. William Ellis, though mercifully improved, will not allow the resumption of his duties as one of its Foreign Secretaries, especially with the increasing labours and responsibilities of that office: it acknowledges with respect and gratitude his long continued and useful labours, both as a missionary and as an officer of the Society, and earnestly entreats of the Father of mercies his perfect restoration and prolonged usefulness; that Thomas Wilson, Esq., be Treasurer; that the Rev. Arthur Tidman and the Rev. Joseph John Freeman be the Foreign Secretaries, and the Rev. John Arundel be the House Secretary for the ensuing year; that the directors who are eligible be reappointed; and that the gentlemen whose names will be read be chosen to fill up the places of those who retire; and that the directors have power to fill up vacancies, should any occur."

The Rev. F. MONOD, from Paris, moved, and Dr. PARKER, American missionary, from China, seconded a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the meeting separated at four o'clock.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society took place on Friday last at Exeter Hall. Long before the commencement of the meeting, boys were stationed at the doors of the building, who were busily engaged in distributing the speech of Dr. Lushington in the House of Commons on Friday, and other tracts.

At eleven o'clock, Mr. WILLIAM ALLEN took the chair, and, having shortly addressed the meeting, and stated that it had not been called for any particular purpose, or for any particular occasion, he called upon Mr. Scobell to read the report. Previously, however, to doing so, Mr. Scobell read letters from Mr. Clarkson, Sir T. F. Buxton, and Dr. Lushington, regretting their inability to attend the meeting. The latter right honourable gentleman stated in his letter, that he was prevented from attending in consequence of his duties at the Privy Council, at the same time, observing, that if he could possibly be present during the latter part of the day, he would do so.

The report was then read, from which it appeared that the exertions of the society in various quarters of the world had been attended with success. From the financial statement it appeared that the receipts of the society amounted to 4,673l. 3s. 1d., and its expenditure to 4,626l. 3s. 1d.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., in moving the adoption, printing, and circulation of the report, congratulated the society on the prosperity of its exertions, but regretted that its efforts had been unavailing with those who employed slaves in mines. He was sorry that those who were possessed of such property should consent to be guilty of murder of the blackest dye. He was sure that the markets of this country were the great maintainers of slavery in the United States, for while they were open to the supply of cotton it was almost impossible the labours of the society could be effective in the United States. The value of cotton imported into this country from the United States amounted to fourteen millions.

The Rev. JOHN CARLISLE seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. BURNETT proposed the following resolution:—"That whilst this meeting deeply deplores the extensive prevalence and unutterable horror of slavery and the slave trade, as sanctioned, upheld, and countenanced by professedly Christian and other powers, they especially regard their existence in British India, and call upon the people, the legislature, and the government, by their influence and authority, to accomplish the immediate abolition of these enormous evils, and declare henceforth every portion of the British empire shall be the asylum and the home of the free." It had been supposed by some that the anti-slavery spirit would evaporate after the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, but he was glad to find that the prediction had not been verified. That numerous and respectable meetings proved that the friends of the British slave, were the friends of slaves all over the world [hear, hear]. Let it be remembered, that there were still 6,000,000 slaves held in bondage by powers that were designated Christian. The sympathies then of the philanthropists must not cool down, nor their exertions be relaxed. The cry of those slaves must be heard and answered, and the great principle of freedom must be carried out until all Europe should acknowledge its influence. It might be asked had not enough been done? had not treaties been entered into—the seizure of slaves resolved upon? But as long as a market was open, who could say to what extent the nefarious traffic might be carried? There was one part of the British dominions which deprived Englishmen of the power of proclaiming that their sovereign was no longer the Queen of slaves, for slaves there were under the British crown. He alluded to India. That territory was originally possessed by the Hindoos, who had various kinds of slaves. The dominion then passed by conquest to the Mahomedans, whose laws permitted slavery. Under the British rule slavery continued. What was done when Earl Grey was in power? An attempt was made to obtain a declaration that the slaves should be free, but it was thwarted. When the East India Company's charter was under discussion, what was done by the House of Commons? A proposition was embodied in the bill by which the slaves were to be free within a fixed time. But in the progress of the bill that proposition was changed, and instead of providing for their freedom, a commission of inquiry was appointed. That was in 1833, and nothing had ever since been heard of the commission [hear, hear]. The abolitionists must begin again, therefore, as in 1833, and again put the matter before the House of Commons, and then let it be seen whether any of the "powers that be" would attempt to stay the march of freedom on its passage to our fellow-subjects in India. It had been said "what is to become of our Indian empire?" but he would ask, were we to countenance slavery for the sake of empire? If any one were to say that the slaves at home were neglected, he would answer, not by those who belong to the Anti-Slavery Society. Were not the people who had exerted themselves in the cause of the factory children, and who sought to cheapen everything that could be cheapened—even cheap bread, and cheap government—the very persons who had struggled for the freedom of the slaves? He exhorted the meeting then, to say that all these things should be no more. Let not Britain's flag be degraded by India's bondage—let them stimulate and urge, by all fair and just means, every man in office, until every official should have done his duty, and until the slavery that Europe countenanced and

maintained, should be thrown back into the recollections of history [cheers].

EDWARD BUXTON, Esq., seconded the resolution, and in so doing, said he stood there by the desire of his father [cheers]. With regard to slave-grown sugar, as an abolitionist, he was bound to express his opinion that the decrease of price in sugar, occasioned by the introduction of that commodity into this country, would be obtained at the expense of the increase of slavery [cheers and hisses]. He was the friend of the manufacturers, and he knew that they often were reduced to great straits. If slave-grown sugar was to be admitted, the revenue might be increased by several hundred thousand pounds [interruption]. He had no intention of speaking upon politics, but this much he would say, that no one more highly regarded the present ministry than he did [cheers]. He believed that no minister ever held the seals of the colonial department more enlightened in his principles, and more determined to carry them out, than Lord John Russell [tremendous cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs in all parts of the hall]. He (Mr. Buxton) could not forget which party it was that had abolished slavery in this empire [hear, hear]. He expressed his thanks to the society for having taken up the great subject of slavery in British India, and his hope that after 20,000,000% had been given for the abolition of slavery, the disgrace of permitting millions of British subjects to remain in bondage would no longer be permitted to remain. He rejoiced that the subject had been taken up by the society and by his esteemed and revered friend Dr. Lushington [great hissing, mingled with cheers, in the midst of which the speaker sat down].

MR. H. ASHWORTH, said he feared lest the influence of the society should be placed in jeopardy by a false political movement at the present juncture. He had just come from Lancashire (not, however, with any intention of being present at that meeting), and throughout the country, on all sides, he heard nothing but expressions of dislike at the inopportune movement of that day [cheers]. It was one pregnant with consequences which might peril the safety of the industrious classes of the country [cheers]. While they sought for the freedom of the blacks, they should not overlook the sufferings of their brethren at home [immense applause]. Such a body as that society must necessarily exercise great political influence, and they should beware how they used it to jeopardise the safety of the people at home [cheers]. Let the society beware lest it should work into the hands of those who had always opposed the anti-slavery cause [cheers]. For twenty-five years they had petitioned a tory government, and what had they done [cheers]?

The CHAIRMAN interrupted the speaker for the purpose of again explaining that the meeting had been convened for no political object whatever. He hoped that they would allow the regular business to proceed, and after that, if they wished to hear any one address them, they could do so.

A voice from the body of the hall—"We wish to show our detestation to our old opponents,—the miscreant tories" [immense cheering].

MR. ASHWORTH then continued his speech. He said the present was not merely a question of cheap sugar. The Brazils were the best customers of our manufacturers, and if their sugar was refused, the market of Brazil would be closed against us, as our ships now were forced to go half round the world to dispose of the Brazilian sugar, instead of bringing it home to exchange it for our manufactures. Let them take care, lest while they sought to advance the liberty of the blacks, they did not throw down the industrial population at home. In many of the manufacturing districts the people had now only employment four days a week, and if the market of Brazil was shut against us, those four days must be reduced to two [cheers]. It was obvious that the tories were bidding for what support that meeting could give them [loud cheers]. He would not, at a period like the present, desert the ministers, who had done so much for them [cheers]. If there was consistency in advocating out of doors the political party who were now bidding for their support, how could they fancy their venerable President arm in arm with Dr. Pusey, canvassing the electors of Newark [laughter]?

The CHAIRMAN thought they were travelling out of their way, and had better go on with the regular business. They all had their opinions—his own was strongly in favour of free trade and a liberal government.

MR. ASHWORTH here intimated that he should conclude with an amendment, but upon its being intimated to him that it would have the effect of dissolving the meeting, he declined adopting that course, upon the understanding that when the regular business of the meeting was concluded, he should have an opportunity of bringing it forward as a substantive resolution, in order to see whether the meeting would adopt it: [Here an individual, who had previously ascended the platform, and who gave his name William Martin, of Birmingham, attempted to address the meeting, and the greatest confusion prevailed. For some time his attempts were vain, but, through the interference of the chairman, order was restored].

MR. MARTIN then collected all his powers for a display; and, by dint of no ordinary strength of lungs, succeeded in making himself heard for a time. However, his digressions into the most irrelevant topics soon became intolerable, and he was at last put down by the sense of the meeting. Directly afterwards another individual, of the same class, attempted to thrust himself forcibly in the front of the platform, but was opposed by those around him, and it became necessary to call in the aid of a policeman. The appearance of the constable, however, was the signal for a volley of yells from the chartists, and a scene of uproar and confusion ensued. After a few sentences from the reverend Mr. Burnett order was restored.

Captain SAUMAREZ moved, and Dr. VAUGHAN seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting, in view of the manifest progress of the anti-slavery cause in various parts of the world, consider that grateful and reverend acknowledgements are due to the most high for the measure of success with which he had favoured it, and they take encouragement to prosecute with renewed zeal and diligence its noble and Christian objects."

MR. O'CONNELL then rose to move several resolutions, and was received with great cheering. He could not help rejoicing that, under existing circumstances, so much unanimity and good temper remained among them. As he was on his road to the meeting one of his good-natured friends had asked him why he was going to the anti-slavery

meeting, at the same time observing that there were parties who differed among them, and that there would be a split. To this he (Mr. O'Connell) answered that with respect to the grand principle—with respect to the anxiety to spread liberty over the whole globe, there was no difference of opinion. He regretted that there should be any, even the slightest difference of opinion between himself and one whom he was proud to call his valued and revered friend—one in whose person were combined the characteristics of the profound lawyer, the stainless judge, the earnest philanthropist, and the energetic advocate of the people's liberties. But if there was some difference of opinion between him (Mr. O'Connell) and his right honourable and learned friend, Dr. Lushington, still he felt he was entitled to stand upon the same platform with him in the sacred cause, for the advancement of which the meeting had that day assembled. It had been said that the business of the Anti-Slavery Society was at an end; that could not be, for there were yet six millions of slaves, and their business could have no termination so long as one slave remained in the world [cheers]. With respect to the question now before the house, he would vote for the introduction of foreign sugar into this country, provided no higher tax was placed upon it than upon that which was the produce of the colonies of this country, and provided also it was the production of free labour [cheering]. But he had been told that he should injure the West India proprietor by that. Indeed! Had they not already had 20,000,000% of the money of this country in their pockets, and their estates and property improved by it? They had been told that the mighty experiment of emancipation would be followed by every crime on the part of the negroes that could disgrace humanity. They had been told so by these new anti-slavery advocates [loud cheers]. What had happened? The calumniated African race had obtained the power which physical force gave the multitude, and their revenge had been—what?—forgiveness and mercy [cheers]. Not one crime had been committed. The bridewells and the gaols were empty, and the chains which had worn away the limbs of the negro were now corroding with rust [loud cheering]. He had recently seen the Roman catholic bishop of British Guiana, who had stated that recently a joint stock company of negroes had purchased a large estate in that colony, and having engaged a gentleman as superintendent of that estate, at a salary of 500%., had bound themselves to abide by his directions. They had also instituted a school for the instruction of the children, and he had the satisfaction of stating that he had asked the bishop if the children of the African race really exhibited that mental incapacity which the yellow miscreants of North America imputed to them, and the answer was, that, on the contrary, they exhibited a greater readiness than even the generality of children, because they were actuated by a greater desire to learn [cheers]. Would the Americans, now that the experiment had succeeded, follow our example? They called themselves republicans, forsooth, yet they practised the most abominable tyranny.

A CHARTIST: Not so bad as the tyranny of the middle classes.

MR. O'CONNELL: There is a tyranny worse than even the tyranny of the middle classes; that beastly tyranny which would attempt to confine all discussion to one particular point [loud cheers]. No tyranny did he abominate more than that tyranny which attempted to interrupt all public business. What would they say if a few individuals were to go to one of their Chartist meetings for the purpose of interrupting their proceedings because it was a Chartist meeting, and with the avowed object of putting it down? He (Mr. O'Connell) would oppose any attempt to interfere with one of their meetings as strenuously as he would any attempt to interfere with the present, for in both cases it would be gross oppression, and there did not live a human being who would go further to put down oppression than himself. The hon. and learned gentleman then proceeded to denounce, in glowing and eloquent terms, the abominations of American slavery, more particularly the slave-breeding system as practised in Maryland and Virginia. He also inveighed against the Texans for rebelling against the Mexicans, and described their charter, the fundamental principles of which were that negro slavery should be perpetual, and that the native Indians should be excluded from the soil of Texas, as being not written with ink, but with human blood—not sealed with wax, but imprinted with the hoof of a demon [loud cheers]. Yet this was the nation which Lord Palmerston, in the excess of his folly, had had the audacity to recognise; and the reason given was, that the opening of Texas to the literature of Europe would make the Texans ashamed of being slave owners. His lordship, when he had coaxed the birds from the bushes, might coax the Texans to free their slaves, but not till then [cheers and laughter]. He should bring the subject before parliament as soon as the treaty with Texas should be printed. He solemnly warned all men against having anything to do with Texas, or with any Texan loans; whoever advanced money to the Texan land jobbers would be sure to lose it. His trade was agitation in behalf of justice [cheers]. He wished to see freedom and representative governments all over the world [cheers], and he thought that every man in England who had attained mature age, and was possessed of a fixed habitation, whether lodging or house, should have a voice in electing representatives to the British senate [cheers]. But in the work of the great regeneration of mankind, let them beware of the hypocrisy of those who, while they pretended to weep for the sufferings of humanity, were only in reality sighing for office [loud cheers]. John Bull was remarkable for his good sense, and saw at once theirs was a flimsy pretext to delude, and not a conviction to be worked out for the sake of humanity [cheer]. Could he forget that the West India planters themselves, in their own country, consumed nothing but slave-grown sugar, which was first of all imported from Brazil and Cuba into England, refined and re-exported under a drawback (and there never was a drawback without a little swindling), to be consumed on the estates of the Goulbourns, and the Grants, and the Gladstones, and the Sandons [cheers], who cared nothing for the sugar being slave-grown, in their delight at getting it so cheap [loud cheers]? There was another point to which he alluded, as connected with this question. Could there ever be a greater crime committed than when a weeping child cried to its parents for a second slice of bread to force that mother to refuse the bread to her hungry child [cheers]? Yet now the mother was forced to say to her hungry child, "I cannot, my dearest, famishing child, give you another slice of bread, because the Duke of Buckingham has a tax upon the corn [loud cheers]. Our loaf is small, only half what it ought to be, because the other half is allocated to the Duke of Buckingham, in order that the wheels of his coach and four may glide glibly over the

wooden pavements of the city of London [loud cheers]." He was an Irishman—Ireland was an agricultural country; he believed he represented the wants, the wishes, and the feelings of his countrymen, and he would raise the cry of "Justice to England—a free trade in bread." The hon. gentlemen, after apologizing to the meeting for having introduced the subject of politics, and stated his willingness to hear any length of speech which the gentleman who had attacked him might choose to make, if he would attend a meeting at the Crown and Anchor that evening, at which he (Mr. O'Connell) would be present, concluded by calling upon the association to continue their exertions in the cause of justice and humanity, and sat down amidst loud cheering from all parts of the hall.

Mr. CHARLES RIMOND, a gentleman of colour from the United States, seconded the resolution.

W. EVANS, Esq. M.P., moved the last resolution, expressing the satisfaction of the meeting at the advance of education among the emancipated negroes; which was seconded by G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq.

A vote of thanks was then proposed to the chairman.

Mr. ASHWORTH, in seconding the motion, said that the feeling of the meeting had been so clearly expressed in answer to the statements of Mr. O'Connell, that he should not trouble them any further; he merely wished to explain that he had not come to ask any sympathy for his neighbours in Lancashire. He came there to express their sentiments. The Lancashire people asked for no protection whatever, all they asked for was fair play [cheers].

On Saturday the 8th inst., the remains of the late Rev. John Thornton, of Billericay, were deposited in the family vault at that place. The greatest respect was shown to the memory of the deceased by the inhabitants, without distinction of party. He had been the Pastor of the independent dissenting interest at Billericay, 40 years. On the following sabbath, the event was improved by the Rev. George Clayton, of Walworth, who was formerly a fellow student with Mr. Thornton, and has ever since been on intimate terms of friendship with him, which enabled him most ably to delineate his character.

Friar-lane Chapel, Leicester, which has been closed since the first sabbath in April, for the purpose of being cleaned and repaired, was re-opened on Lord's day, May 9th, when two sermons were preached, by the Rev. S. Wigg, the minister of the place. The free-will offerings of the people during the day, amounted to the very handsome sum of 50*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* As the voluntary principle is not yet quite dead in Leicester, it is intended to have two sermons, and a tea-meeting next September, (being the anniversary of the liquidation of the debt), when judging from the liberality of the friends on former occasions, not the least doubt is entertained that the remainder of the expense (about 150*l.*) necessarily incurred in the very extensive alterations, will be readily and cheerfully contributed.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, May 14.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act 6 and 7 Wm. IV., cap. 85:—

Bethesda Chapel, Bethesda, Carnarvonshire. H. Williams, superintendent registrar.
Painshill Chapel, Limsfield, Surrey. A. G. Davidson, superintendent registrar.
Baptist Chapel, Castle Hastings, Sussex. H. Thatcher, superintendent registrar.

INSOLVENTS.

ARROW, HENRY, Sevenoaks, Kent, coach-builder, May 13.
BEAGLEY, SAMUEL, Cold Harbour Lane, Camberwell, bricklayer, May 14.
HOOD, THOMAS, 2, Union Row, High Street, Camberwell, late of Lake House, Wandstead, Essex, bookseller, May 13.
SMITH, RICHARD, late of 60, Aldgate High Street, but now of 19, New Suffolk Street, Middlesex, butcher, May 12.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

YOUNG, JOHN, and BENTLEY, GEORGE, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, ironmongers.

BANKRUPTS.

ALGAR, JOHN, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, fishing-merchant, to surrender May 18, June 25: solicitors, Mr. S. Palmer, Great Yarmouth; Mr. A. Storey, 5, Field Court, Gray's Inn, London.

DARE, THOMAS, New-town, Exeter, builder, May 27, June 25: solicitors, Mr. T. Pearson, Essex Street, Strand, London; Mr. T. Floud, Exeter.

DAVIDSON, COCHRANE, and BRADLEY, SAMUEL, Fen Court, Fenchurch Street, merchants, May 25, June 25: solicitors, Messrs. Wood and Ellis, Cornet Court, Gracechurch Street.

FOTHERGILL, ALEXANDER, Rochdale, Lancashire, cotton spinner, May 27, June 25: solicitors, Mr. R. Smith, 67, Chancery Lane, London; Messrs. Shuttleworth and Co., Rochdale.

RILEY, AMBROSE, Wheatley Lane, near Burnley, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer, May 17, June 25: solicitors, Messrs. Milne and Co., Temple, London; Messrs. Caistor and Farnworth, Manchester.

TONEY, THOMAS, Birmingham, draper, May 28, June 25: solicitors, Messrs. Barker and Son, or Mr. Bartlett, Birmingham; Messrs. Holme and Co., New Inn, London.

WALTER, JOHN, 16, Carburton Street, Fitzroy Square, cheesemonger, May 29, June 25: solicitor, Mr. W. C. Humphreys, 119, Newgate Street.

WETTON, WILLIAM, Coventry, ribbon manufacturer, May 26, June 25: solicitor, Mr. S. A. Beck, Ironmongers' Hall, Fenchurch Street, London.

DIVIDENDS.

June 4, B. & S. Vanderplank, Saville Row, Burlington Gardens, woollen drapers—June 4, Maltby, Lawrence Pountney Hill, and of Upper Side, Waterloo Bridge, lead merchant—May 24, Lee, Guildford, Surrey, banker—June 18, Glass, Oxford Street, wine and spirit merchant—June 7, J. M. & W. Mills, Great Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, brewers—June 7, J. M. and W. B. Mills, Great Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, brewers—June 7, Osborne, Upper Montague Street, Montague Square, horse-dealer—June 7, Bennett, Copthall Buildings, City, bookseller—June 7, Exley, Riches Court, Lime Street, City, merchant—June 7, Heskin, jun., Thorley, Hertfordshire, horse-dealer—June 9, Rimmer, Lytham, Lancashire, innkeeper—June 7, Coley, Gloucester, scrivener—June 7, Bonnor, Gloucester, money scrivener—June 19, France, Wakefield, Yorkshire, maltster—June 17, Shattock, Bishop's Lydeard, Somersetshire, scrivener—June 7, Barnett, Birmingham, builder—June 15, Morse, High Street, Birmingham, laceman—June 8, Prescott, Hulme, Manchester, grocer—June 12, Howard, Coventry, ribbon manufacturer—June 11, Robertson, Wootton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, draper.

CERTIFICATES—JUNE 4.

Oliver, Quorndon, Leicestershire, hosier—Vanderplank, Saville Row, Burlington Gardens, woollen draper—Ashton, Berners Street, Oxford Street, bill broker—Faulkner, jun., Danver's Wharf, Chelsea, builder—Sugars, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, coal merchant—Riley, 23, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, bill broker—Hammond, Droylsden, Lancashire, banker—Flower, 48, Greek Street, Soho, manufacturing goldsmith—Bloodworth, Loughborough, Leicestershire, miller—Braddock, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, chemist—Smallfield, 69, Newgate Street, City, bookseller—Deeming, Manchester, hotel-keeper—Davy, Collumpton, Devonshire, woollen manufacturer—Hewer, Hereford, innkeeper—Robbins, Birmingham, builder—Robinson, Warrington, Lancashire, common brewer.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

A. & L. Forsyth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, slaters—Sharp and Thompson, Bradford—Howard and Croft, Cheltenham, solicitors—J. & H. Crookes, Sheffield, manufacturers of penknives—Gardener and Co., (so far as regards Wise)—Jones and Swinton, Warrington, grocers—Smith and Pinkney, 41, Chiswell Street, Finsbury, attorneys—F. & A. Gately, Bollington, Cheshire, stone masons, and Needham, Poynton, engineer (so far as regards Needham)—Kirby and Bell, 5, King Street, Snow Hill, leather-sellers—Breakpear and Wiseman, Oxford, drapers—Hodson and Graves, Pall-mall, print-sellers—Lamb and Overend, Manchester, publicans—Lister and Jones, Kidderminster,

boot and shoe makers—T. Y., S. & J. Hunt, of the Brades, Staffordshire, steel manufacturers (so far as regards S. Hunt)—Hutchinson and Buxton, Leeds, brick makers—Johnston and Co., Kingston-upon-Hull, timber merchants (so far as regards Johnston)—Shapland and Elliott, Devonport, attorneys—Wood and Goodwin, Tunstall, Staffordshire, copper plate engravers—Guest and Farnworth, Bedford, brewers—Clark and Knapp, Basing Lane, City, brick makers—Willis and Co., Birmingham, button manufacturers—H. J. & H. Rhomer, Manchester (so far as regards H. Rhomer, sen.)—Coltens and Fackrell, Bristol, paper hangers—Pickersgill and Co., common carriers—Pirie and Co., Aberdeen, manufacturers (so far as regards Bannerman)—Simpson and Co., Aberdeen, clothiers, (so far as regards Simpson).

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BARRAS, GEORGE, Glasgow, merchant, May 19, June 9.
BROWN, PATRICK, late of Aberdeen, haberdasher, now of Ruthrieston, near Aberdeen, May 19, June 19.
HOY, GEORGE, Kinrosswood, Kinrossshire, grocer, May 21, June 11.
ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, Bridge Farm, near Blairgowrie, cattle dealer, May 20, June 10.
VEITCH, WILLIAM, Jedburgh, ironmonger, May 19, June 9.

Tuesday, May 18.

INSOLVENTS.

EDMONDS, ROBERT, Bennett-street, Stamford-street, Blackfriars, builder.
TAYLOR, FREDERICK, Speldhurst, Kent, plumber.
JONES, MARIA LOUISA, Tredegar, Monmouthshire, victualler.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

REVELL, RICHARD, Plymouth, linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

CADBURY, JAMES, New Bond-street, cheesemonger, May 25, June 29: solicitor, Mr. Humphreys, Newgate-street.
DASH, THOMAS, New Windsor, Berkshire, innkeeper, May 25, June 29: solicitor, Mr. Ward, Essex-street, Strand.

DAY, WILLIAM and THOMAS, Gracechurch-street, oilmen, May 29, June 29: solicitors, Messrs. Capes and Stuart, Field-court, Gray's Inn.

FIELD, ROBERT, Cartmel, Lancashire, banker, May 26, June 29: solicitors, Messrs. Norris, Allen, and Simpson, Bartlett's-buildings, London; Messrs. Wilson and Harrison, Kendal.

FERNYHOUGH, H. W., Reading, bookseller, May 25, June 29: solicitor, Mr. Lamb, Furnival's-inn, Holborn.

HARRIS, RALPH, Lower Thames-street, merchant, May 28, June 29: solicitors, Messrs. Lattly, Fourdrinier, and Morse, Dyers'-hall, College-street, Dowgate.

HIGGINS, PETER, Salford, Lancashire, brewer, May 28, June 29: solicitors, Messrs. Edlington, Gregory, Faulkner, and Follett, Bedford-row, London; Mr. Morris, Manchester.

JOHNSON, RALPH, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, builder, June 10, 29: solicitors, Messrs. Cavell, Skilbeck, and Hall, London; Mr. Keenlyside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

KINGSFORD, JOHN, and FLAVIUS EBENEZER, Dover, wine-merchants, May 26, June 29: solicitor, Mr. Lackington, Coleman-street-buildings.

KNOWLES, WILLIAM, Hyde, Chester, clothesman, May 28, June 29: solicitors, Messrs. Clarke and Medcalf, Lincoln's Inn-fields, London; Mr. Brooks, Ashton-under-Lyne.

KNOWLES, JOHN, RODWELL, HENRY, PARKER, GEORGE RUSSELL, and KING, JOHN THOMAS, Throgmorton-street, silk-broker, May 31, June 29: solicitors, Messrs. Crowder and Co., Mansion-house-yard, London.

MALLISON, WILLIAM, Blackburn, merchant, June 8, 29: solicitors, Messrs. Milne, Parry, Milne, and Morris, Temple, London; Messrs. Neville, Ainsworth, and Beardsworth, Blackburn.

NORRIS, JOHN, and FREER, JOSEPH, Leicester, hosiers, May 24, June 29: solicitors, Messrs. Taylor, Sharpe, Field, and Jackson, Bedford-row, London; Messrs. Stone and Paget, Leicester.

NORTHCROFT, WILLIAM, Egham, builder, May 28, June 29: solicitor, Mr. Dyte, Hare-court, Temple.

RIMMER, RICHARD, Liverpool, tailor, May 31, June 29: solicitors, Messrs. Hall, Bishop, and Mourilyan, Verulam-buildings, Gray's Inn, London; Mr. Neal, Liverpool.

WHEELER, JONAH, Bath, victualler, June 8, 29: Solicitors, Mr. Horton, Furnival's Inn, London; Messrs. Mant and Harvey, Bath.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Cayley and Co. Petersburg, merchants; as far as regards A. Moberley—Birley and Co. Kirkham, Lancashire, flax spinners; as far as regards W. and E. Birley—Swainson, C. and Co., Fishwick, Lancashire, cotton spinners; as far as regards T. Birley—Wallace, J. and H., Ham Common and Putney, bakers—Huddleston, J. and Co., Maryport, Cumberland, ship builders—Breach and Choules, Plough Tavern, Blackwall—Lobley S. and R., Pudsey, Yorkshire, tallow chandlers—Dormer and Brown, Kennington Green, cigar manufacturers—Liddell, Webster, and Liddell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, wine and spirit merchants—Artie and Burt, High Street, Poplar, timmer—Lime and Givry, Adde Street, Wood Street, Cheapside, importers of French goods—Briggs, B. and F., Newington, Kent, grocers—Baylis and Co., Montague Street, Whitechapel, printing-ink manufacturers—Mew and Hogget, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Belsay, Northumberland, saddlers—Chappell and Co., cotton manufacturers, Manchester; as far as regards G. R. Chappell—Kenyon and Co., Blackburn, Lancashire, cotton spinners; as far as regards J. Kenyon—Hyman and Jacobs, Plymouth, Devonshire, jewellers—Atkinson and Co., Lancaster, attorneys; as far as regards H. Birch—Bethom W. and J., Grassgarth, Westmoreland, bobbin manufacturers—Ullathorne and Routledge, Pontefract, grocers—Lilley and Boyle, jun., Kingston-upon-Hull, mahogany and timber merchants—Crompton and Keeley, Gaythorne, Lancashire, silk dyers—Isbottson and Palmer, Savoy Street, Strand, printers—May and Crosswell, Devonport, wine and spirit merchants—Stains and Fox, Yorkshire Stingo Brewery, New-road, Marylebone—Antrobus and Millar, Wincham, Cheshire, rock salt proprietors—Bush and Master, Mildred's Court, Poultry, attorneys—Ingilis and Littlejohn, Aberdeen, merchants—Tennant and Co., Glasgow, London, and Liverpool; as far as regards Cooper and Dunlop.

DIVIDENDS.

June 10, Curtis and Garry, Tokenhouse-yard, London, merchants—June 10, Barnett, Sydenham, Kent, builder—June 10, Bottomley, Gracechurch-street, tailor—June 18, Smith, Ashton-under-Lyne, timber merchant—June 15, Nuttall, Manchester, grocer—June 10, Colquhoun, Sheffield, copper-smith—June 16, W. and J. Deeming, Manchester, hotel keepers—June 22, Roberts, Carnarvon, merchant—June 10, Beckett, Liverpool, ironfounder—June 9, Evans, Liverpool, draper—June 15, Coombe, formerly of Great Torrington, Devonshire, afterwards of Liskeard, Cornwall, since of Launceston, builder—June 9, Potter, Manchester, and Maude, Darwen, Lancashire, calico printers.

CERTIFICATES—JUNE 8.

G. H. Green, and G. C. Green, Peckham Mills, Kent, paper makers—Wilson, Stanley Ferry, Yorkshire, innkeeper—Tোধunter, Mincing-lane, London, drysalter—Cass, Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CATTO, ALEXANDER, Peterhead, spirit dealer, May 20, June 19.
COOPER, WILLIAM and JAMES, Edinburgh, glass stainers, May 24, June 14.
GILKISON, JOHN, Glasgow, merchant, May 24, June 14.
LOW, ALEXANDER, Dundee, merchant, May 24, June 12.
MELVIN, JAMES, Aberdeen, merchant, May 21, June 11.
SMALL, HENRY, Water of Leith, carter, May 24, June 14.
WAT, ROBERT, Johnstone, cotton spinner, May 24, June 11.
YOUNG, WILLIAM, Dundee, watch and clock maker, May 25, June 11.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	89½	89½	89½	89½	90	90
Ditto for Account	89½	89½	89½	89½	90	90
3 per cents. Reduced	88½	88½	88½	88½	88½	88½
3½ per cents. Reduced	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
New 3½ per cents.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
Long Annuities	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½
Bank Stock	168	167	167	168	168	168½
India Stock	251½	251½	251½	—	251½	251
Exchequer Bills	4 pm.	5 pm.	4 pm.	3 pm.	3 pm.	3 pm.
India Bonds, 3 per cent.	1 pm.	1 dis.	1 dis.	1 dis.	par	par

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Belgian	100½	Peruvian	16½
Brazilian	67½	Portuguese 5 per cents	34
Buenos Ayres	23	Ditto 3 per cents	20½
Columbian	22½	Russian	—
Danish	77½	Spanish Active	23½
Dutch 2½ per cents	52½	Ditto Passive	5½
Ditto 5 per cents	100	Ditto Deferred	11½
Mexican	28½		

RAILWAYS—		SHARES.	
Birmingham and Derby	67	L. & B. Quarter Shares	23
Birmingham and Gloucester	69½	London and Brighton	46½
Blackwall	19	London and Croydon Trunk	13½
Bristol and Exeter	37	London and Greenwich	8½
Cheltenham and Gt. Western	—	Ditto New	17½
Eastern Counties	7½	Manchester and Birmingham	25½
Edinburgh and Glasgow	—	Manchester and Leeds	58
Gosport Junction	46½	Midland Counties	88
Great North of England	—	Ditto Quarter Shares	—
Great Western	94½	North Midland	75½
Ditto New	64½	Ditto New	36
Ditto Fifties	11½	South Eastern and Dover	16
London and Birmingham	160	South Western	57½
		Ditto Tenthies	2½

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, May 17.

The supplies of English Wheat this morning being small, enabled factors to obtain an advance of 1s. per qr. on the prices of this day week, and a clearance of samples was effected; and there is more business doing in free Foreign Wheat at fully late prices. There is little doing in bonded Wheat, and the present arrivals are mostly taken to granary.

Of Barley there was very little offering, and though the inquiry was excessively dull previous prices were maintained.

Beans were likewise held at about former rates, but to have made sales to any extent less money must have been taken.

In the value of Peas we have no alteration to notice.

Oats were difficult of disposal, and might have been purchased on rather easier terms. Canaryseed met with very little attention, and prices remained nominally unaltered.

Wheat, Red New	51 to 60	Malt, Ordinary	48 .. 53	Beans, Old	39 to 41
Fine	61 .. 62	Pale	53 .. 56	Harrow	37 .. 41
White	56 .. 68	Peas, Hog	33 .. 38	Oats, Feed	22 .. 25
Fine	56 .. 69	Maple	39 .. 40	Fine	24 .. 26
Rye	32 .. 36	Boilers	34 .. 38	Poland	23 .. 26
Barley	24 .. 28	Beans, Ticks	35 .. 38	Potato	23 .. 25
Malting	30 to 33				

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR MAY 14.		AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.		DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.	
Wheat	63s. 2d.	Wheat	63s. 8d.	Wheat	23s. 8d.
Barley	31 7	Barley	32 4	Barley	13 10
Oats	22 11	Oats	23 0	Oats	12 3
Rye	35 10	Rye	35 5	Rye	16 9
Beans	38 7	Beans	39 1	Beans	11 0
Peas	38 3	Peas	38 7	Peas	12 6

PROVISIONS, LONDON, May 17.

Bacon continues very dull. The business doing is limited, and the few sales making are at about 1s. reduction on the prices of this day week. Landed parcels, 54s. to 56s. Parcels to ship, 56s. to 57s. on board.

Hams are a slow sale at 60s. to 66s.

Lard is a trifle firmer, at 69s. to 73s.

In Irish butter there is as yet scarcely anything doing. A few new Corks have been sold for this month at 94s. on board, and Waterford at 93s. to 91s., but the dealers at present almost exclusively confine their purchases to Foreign.

HOPS.

The market continues in a very dull state, owing to the absolute want of parcels offering; the quotations continue the same, and the duty is laid at 150,000l.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, May 17.

In to-day's market the supply of Beasts was tolerably good, but a large portion of them were much affected with the prevailing epidemic. The Beef trade was in a very depressed state, and in order to effect sales a decline, on last week's quotations, of fully 2d. per 8lbs. was submitted to by the salesmen, who experienced great difficulty in effecting clearances. The demand for Sheep was in a sluggish state, and the prices declined 2d. to 6d. per 8lbs. Most of the Sheep were out of their wool, while a large number of shearing tegs was brought forward. Calves were in fair supply, and heavy inquiry, at the prices noted in our last; but the value of Pigs had a downward tendency.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	3s. 0d. to 4s. 8d.	Pork	4s. 6d. to 4s. 10d.
Mutton	3 4 .. 4 0	Lamb	5 0 .. 6 0
Veal	5 0 .. 5 8		

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	700	10,250	256	383
Monday	2,736	23,330	157	634

HAY, SMITHFIELD, May 17.

Both Hay and Straw moved off slowly at the quotations. Supply tolerably good.

At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow Hay	85s. to 90s.	Clover Hay	110s. to 120s.
Useful ditto	92 .. 95	Oat Straw	42 .. 43
Fine Upland and Rye Grass	96 .. 100	Wheat Straw	44 .. 45

WOOL.

Prices are only nominal, as there is no business doing to any extent.

Down Teggs	1s. 2d. to 1s. 9d.	Flannel Wool	0s. 10d. to 1s. 9d.
Half-brad Hogs	1 1½ .. 1 8	Blanket Wool	0 5½ .. 0 8½
Ewes and Wethers	0 11 .. 1 0	Skin, Combing	0 11 .. 1 2

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, May 18.

TEA.—A series of public sales comprising 22,100 packages commenced this morning. There was a full attendance of buyers, and the merchants being willing to realise at about 1½d. to 2d. per pound below the rates of Friday last, for both black and green Tea, a fair competition was experienced, and a large proportion of the quantity that passed auction was disposed of, say about 6,800 packages out of 9,800 packages. The following are the prices actually obtained:—Congou, 1s. 7d. to 1s. 8½d.; Ankoil kind 1s. 8½d. to 1s. 10½d.; Peko flavoured 1s. 11½d. to 2s.; full flavoured 2s. 1½d. to 2s. 2d.; Young Hyson, 2s. 8½d. to 2s. 9½d. mid strong 3s. to 3s. 3½d.; Hyson 2s. 3½d. to 2s. 8½d. mid-dling 2s. 10d. to 2s. 11d.; Souchong, 1s. 7½d. to 1s. 8d.; Orange Pekoe, 2s. 2d. good middling 2s. 8d. to 2s. 9½d.; Imperial 2s. 8½d. to 2s. 9d.; Gunpowder, 2s. 8½d. to 4s. 1½d.; Twankay, 1s. 8d. to 1s. 11d. Company's Congou, dull of sale, and the cash price declined to 1s. 8d. to 1s. 8½d. per lb.

COFFEE.—The market generally was flat to-dry, very little business was done privately, and the auctions were trivial, consisting only of 36 bales Macha, 10 casks Jamaica, and 47 bags Havannah. The former sold at 102s. 6d. for fine ordinary old quality, being the full value; the latter taken in at 45s. for good ordinary, being about market rates.

SUGAR.—There were extensive public sales of all kinds of Sugar to-day, which had the effect of depressing the market, but a very large proportion sold. Five parcels of British West India Sugar were brought to the hammer, consisting of 342 hhds. 14 tierces new Barbadoes, and 292 hhds. 59 barrels St. Lucia. There was a good attendance of the trade at these sales, and the Barbadoes all sold at full rates; in some cases, however, prices gave way a little; low to fine yellow went at 63s. to 72s. 6d.; the St. Lucia went without spirit, and prices declined 1s. per cwt.; the whole, however, sold at 69s. to 70s. 6d. for low to fine yellow, and brown 60s. to 61s. 6d.

TALLOW.—The delivery last week was 895 casks; the arrival 5 casks. Prices on the spot 46s. 6d., and last three months 47s. 3d. to 47s. 6d. Town tallow is quoted 48s. 6d.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

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SCOTTISH BOARD FOR BIBLE CIRCULATION.

THE SCOTTISH BOARD FOR BIBLE

CIRCULATION being summoned by a Circular of the Secretary, met in the Session House of Rose Street Church, on the 13th of April, 1841. The Rev. CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON was called to the Chair; and, after prayer, the Minutes of the Meeting held 13th August, 1840, when the Board was formed, were read.

After hearing a very interesting and gratifying account from Dr. Thomson of his labours in England and Scotland, while advocating the cause of Cheap Bibles, and a wider circulation of the Word of God, and the great success which he had met with, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I. That the Board feel themselves under very great obligations to Dr. Thomson for his able, successful, and disinterested exertions in this noble and benevolent cause, consider him as a benefactor to his country and to the church, and take this opportunity of tendering him their grateful thanks and admiration.

II. That although a check was given to the plan of purchasing the stereotype plates for printing different editions of the scriptures, by the very success which followed the development of the scheme in reducing the price of all sorts of bibles, the Board cannot but believe that the original proposal ought to be followed out; and that, accordingly, the sum necessary to pay for the purchase of the stereotype plates, together with the expense of management, should, as far as possible, still be raised by subscriptions and donations; that thus the proceeds, together with the sums already obtained for this purpose, may be applied towards further reducing the price, especially of those editions likely to be most in request by the poorer classes of the community at home, and in missionary stations in Jamaica and our other colonies abroad, where the English language is spoken, (and from which an application for large quantities has already been made,) thus following out the grand object of all Bible Societies, without, however, discouraging purcha-

sers by branding their purchase with the stamp of pauperism.

III. That Henry D. Dickie, Esq., Manager of the Caledonian Insurance Company, Edinburgh, be Treasurer to the Board, and that all donations or collections shall be remitted to him or to the Secretary, as may be found most convenient. And as funds are at present greatly wanted for paying the price of those plates, which it was found necessary long ago to purchase, it is earnestly requested that the sums intended to be given, whether by congregations or individuals, should be forwarded as speedily as possible.

IV. That till sufficient funds, with the view mentioned, can be raised, it is indispensably necessary in the mean time to fix the prices somewhat higher than those stated by the Secretary, while it was assumed that subscriptions to the full amount required to cover the expense of the plates and of management would ere now have been obtained; and that accordingly the prices shall for the present be as follows:—

1. The school bible, 12mo. 1s. 8d. bound in sheep.
2. The school testament, 12mo. 10d. bound in sheep.
3. The pocket pearl bible, 24mo. very superior paper and print, 1s. 11d. bound in sheep, 2s. 2d. in embossed roan; and 2s. 5d. embossed roan, gilt.
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V. That a Depository, in some bookseller's shop, shall be formed in each of the larger towns, for the sale of bibles, a small allowance being made to the booksellers for their remuneration; but that in all towns it be strongly recommended to congregations of every denomination to have depositories of their own, where bibles may be supplied to their members or others connected with them, to Sabbath schools, and to the inhabitants of the locality generally, without any profit being exacted.

VI. That, accordingly, ministers or others, acting for such congregations and Sabbath schools, shall, on application to the Secretary, the Rev. Adam Thomson, D.D., Coldstream, N. B., be supplied with specimens of the different sorts of Bibles (with which, there is reason to believe, they will be greatly pleased), it being understood that they pay the expense for the carriage of the parcels sent at their request; and it being further understood that all bibles shall be paid for by a remittance when ordered, as, in consequence of the low rate at which they are charged, no credit can in any case be given.

VII. That, as there are no funds provided for keeping a large stock, it should be recommended, in order to prevent a greater number of bibles being printed from the plates than may be necessary to meet the probable demand, that notice should be sent to the Secretary, as early as possible, of the kinds and number of bibles likely to be required, and a reasonable time allowed for getting them bound, and otherwise ready for use.

VIII. That, as the prices above stated (besides that they are not wholesale but retail prices), are considerably lower than the lowest rates yet advertised by her Majesty's late printers in Scotland, or even by the monopolists in England, who have still a drawback on the duty on paper of three halfpence per pound, the Scottish Board venture to claim the countenance and support of all the friends of bible circulation. This they do on the ground of principle, which repudiates all monopolists, but especially those who dare to hold a monopoly of the Word of God;—on the ground of caution, which requires a check against rapacity, and which, if not restrained, might again become intolerable;—and on other grounds, such as those stated in the admirable resolutions of the Anti-monopoly Committee of Liverpool, in which, among many other excellent sentiments, it is declared, "That they cannot and dare not, as men, as Englishmen, and as Christians, refuse to co-operate with those good men who are seeking the abolition of the English monopoly; nor to encourage, by personal influence and pecuniary aid, every effort to secure, especially for the poor, an adequate supply of the holy scriptures, at the lowest prices." And, accordingly, "That, in the purchase of bibles and testaments for distribution, even though the prices required by publishers be nearly or completely equalized, the preference should, in justice and gratitude, be given to those publishers who, in expectation of such a demand, have, at considerable risk, anticipated the wishes of the Christian public."

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON, Chairman, p. t.

ANDREW ELLIOTT, Secretary, p. t.

Though not present at the Meeting, I cordially concur in the Resolutions there adopted.

JAMES DOUGLAS,

President of the Scottish Board for Bible Circulation, Cavers, April 20, 1841.

N.B. As Secretary to "The Scottish Board for Bible Circulation," I think it right to state that if the recommendation contained in the second of the preceding Resolutions be followed up by the liberality of the Christian public, the prices will soon be very greatly lower than those above given. I take this opportunity of very gratefully acknowledging the receipt, since my last visit to England, of £29 from Kendal, £50 from Liverpool, £10 from Ashton-under-Line, and £10 from Ipswich. Considerable sums have been received from other places, which it is unnecessary to particularise, as the whole amount is to be returned in bibles. I must also adopt this method of expressing my gratitude for the many votes of thanks communicated to me from Public Meetings in the various districts of England to which, amid my numerous and pressing engagements, I found it impossible individually to reply. I have only to add, that it is my intention, in the course of a fortnight, to visit the metropolis, and some of the larger towns in England, when arrangements will be made for establishing depositories for the sale of bibles, from which, however, those editions, and those only, will be excluded which are published by the individual, who, in the language of the Board, "dares to hold a monopoly of the Word of God."

ADAM THOMSON,

Secretary to the Scottish Board for Bible Circulation, Coldstream, May 1, 1841.

Printed and Published at the Office, at No. 4, Crane Court, Fleet Street, in the City of London, by JOHN HENRY DAVIS, of No. 175, Blackfriars Road, Surrey, on WEDNESDAY, 19th MAY, 1841.